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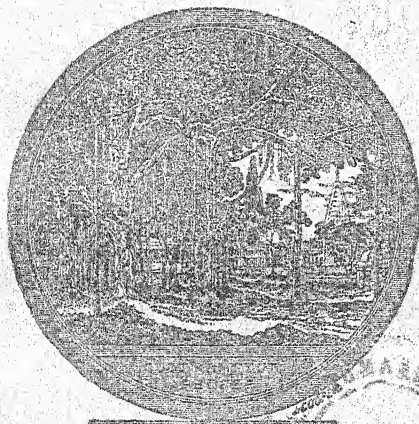
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# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

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CORRIGENDA

*JRAS.*, APRIL, 1936.

p. 65, l. 25, for *Iḥya' fī 'Ulūm al-Dīn* read *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.



# JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1936

PART III.—JULY

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## On Certain Alternations between Dental Finals in Tibetan and Chinese

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

COMPARISON of the vocabularies of Tibetan and Chinese, although attempted in the past,<sup>1</sup> cannot be said as yet to have been undertaken along lines likely to produce outstanding results. All too frequently single words have been singled out for comparison, or a single member of a known family has been selected from the one language and placed beside a single word, seemingly related, likewise torn loose from a known group in the other. Or, again, an entire series of comparisons seems to rest on identity of meanings no matter how widely dissimilar the words which carry them may be in the two languages. The dangers of such methods are obvious. We are not only very probably selecting the wrong members on one side, or on both, but are detaching the words so used entirely from their semantic backgrounds.

Until recent years also we have lacked the material on the Chinese side with which to work with any certainty, but now,

<sup>1</sup> We need only mention here the one serious attempt of recent years: W. Simon, "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Mit. d. Seminars f. Orient. Spr.*, Berlin, Bd. xxxii (1929), Abt. 1, pp. 157-228. Though I do not believe that more than a fraction of the equations there set up will prove to be true, yet this is a work which has already called forth elsewhere an extremely valuable discussion of the problems involved: v. Karlgren, "Tibetan and Chinese," *T'oung Pao*, vol. xxviii (1931), pp. 25-70.

due to the labours of Karlgren,<sup>1</sup> we have a collection of families tentatively set up in a selected number of cases as they existed approximately 2,500 years ago, which can be used with a considerable degree of safety in instituting comparisons with Tibetan.

Much that we shall have to say here will not be new, but in view of the fact that Sino-Tibetan philological studies have with but few notable exceptions been so badly neglected, it may be well to make a preliminary attempt to draw together into some kind of framework as many of the known facts as possible.

As our first move we will consider a point involving certain well-known interchanges of dental finals in Tibetan, with the corresponding phenomena in Chinese.

By a brilliant process of reasoning Karlgren<sup>2</sup> has arrived at the conclusion that a large class of words in archaic Chinese ended in *-r*, and that this archaic *-r* may be descended from earlier *-r*, *-l*, or *-s*.

Now this archaic *-r* is of particular interest viewed in the light of Tibetan behaviour, for just as archaic *-r* alternates with *-n*, so in Tibetan does *-s* with *-n*, and just as in archaic Chinese there are alternations *-r*  $\sim$  *-t* and *-r*  $\sim$  *-d*, so in Tibetan there occur alternations *-s*  $\sim$  *-d*. This strongly fortifies the contention that *-r* in archaic Chinese is in an undetermined number of cases descended from an earlier *-s*.

Examining for a moment the type of Tibetan material bearing upon the matter, the following are representative of the alternations involved :—

Alt. *-s*  $\sim$  *-n* :—

*zas* food

*zan* food

*adus-pa* assembly

*adun-ma* council, meeting

*adres-ma* mixture

*adren-ma* mixture

<sup>1</sup> "Word Families in Chinese," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, pp. 9-120, Stockholm, 1934. This will be abbreviated in the following pages as K. WF.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., pp. 18-37.

*rgas-ka* old age  
*dros-pa* heated  
*tsos* paint  
*mlos* high  
*gsos* cured, mended  
*rdzus-ma* counterfeit

*rgan-pa* old, aged  
*dron-mo* warm  
*tson* paint  
*mfon-po* high  
*gson-po* alive, well  
*rdzun* lie, falsehood

Alt. -s ~ -d:—

*blus-ma* ransom  
*ltas* miraculous manifestation  
*dros-pa* heated  
*rgas-ka* old age  
*agros* walking

*blud-pa* ransom  
*ltad-mo* sight, scene  
*drod* warmth, heat  
*rgad-pa* old  
*grod* a march

It is known, of course, that here we are dealing in the case of -s and -d with suffixes, and that beside the forms in -s, -d, and -n, as above, there are others devoid of final consonant, e.g. *za-ba* to eat, *adu-ba* to assemble, *adre-ba* to be mixed, and so on throughout the list, upon which the -s and -d forms are built.

Now this brings us to the only alternation of true "finals" in such words, i.e. -n ~ -0,<sup>1</sup> and this -n ~ -0 alternation in its turn leads us to the whole problem of Tibetan word pairs, one member of which is provided with a final consonant, the other member of which is not, of the type *grag-pa* = *sgra* noise (alt. -g ~ -0), *agrod-pa*<sup>2</sup> = *agro-ba* to go (alt. -d ~ -0), and so on, which are frequent throughout the language.

Tibetan alone would often lead us to think that such pairs are merely variants, with no deeper significance than appears on the surface. And yet, the matter is not necessarily by any means so simple as this, as a consideration of the related

<sup>1</sup> The zero sign here indicates lack of final consonant.

<sup>2</sup> That -d here is of a different nature from -d in the cases above there can be no doubt. It is, to begin with, the final of an active verb as against the "perfect" (adjectival and substantival) forms derived from verbs above. That -d in *agrod-pa* may have been a suffix of active (or transitive) force is, of course, a possibility, but this sets it apart from the suffixes which we have just been considering. We shall return again to this below.

Chinese groups in the case of *agug(s)-pa* = *dgu-ba* to bend (vb. tr.) will show.

Viewed from the Tibetan side only one would be inclined to assemble this seeming family as follows :—

- (a) *agug(s)-pa*, P. *bgug*, F. *dgug*, Imp. *kug* to bend, to make crooked.

*kug*, *kug-kug* crooked ; a hook.

*kug*, *kugs* corner, concave, angle, nook ; creek, bay, gulf, cove.

*kug-ma* pouch, small bag.

- (b) Without final consonant :—

*dgu-ba* to bend, to make crooked ; bowing, inflection ; bent, stooping.

Whence : *dgu-r*, *rgu-r*, *sgu-r* crooked.

*mgur* (< *mgu-r*) throat, neck.

A glance, however, at Karlgren's Chinese assemblies, A. 266-275 and E. 153-162, shows us that the Tibetan members without final consonant and with *-r* are probably descended from an original *-n* ~ *-0* root system. If this is the case we must set beside the Tibetan *-g* forms under (a) the Chinese family K. WF. : A. 266-275 :—

彎 <i>kṃwək</i> hook	枉 <i>gṃwən</i> to bend, crooked
曲 <i>kṃuk</i> to bend ; crooked	肱 <i>kwən</i> (bending part :) elbow
跼 <i>gṃuk</i> crooked, cramped	弓 <i>kṃŭn</i> a bow
𠂔 <i>kṃōg</i> hook	𠂔 <i>wən</i> crooked leg, lame
輓 <i>ōg</i> angle, corner of the house	
澳 <i>iōk</i> ("hook" :) the concave side of a bend in a meandering river.	

And beside the Tibetan forms without final consonant or with *-r*, as under (b), Karlgren's group E. 153-162 :—

偃 <i>iän</i> bend, bend down
挽, 掣 <i>wän</i> the wrist
彎 <i>wan</i> to bend, curve
灣 <i>wan</i> a bend, a bay

宛, 婉 *iwǎn* (bending :) soft, yielding, docile

冤 *iwǎn* crooked, a wrong

委 *iwar* to bend down, crooked

隈 *wər* a bay

Now this would keep apart Tibetan *dgu-ba*, *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur*, and *mgur* not only from any *-g* system, but also from any possible affiliation with a known *-m* system (*kum-pa*, *kum-kum*, *kum-po* crooked, *skum-pa* to bend, *kums-pa* crooked, *akum-pa* to shrink), and the facts point, indeed, as already said, to the former existence of an *-n ~ -0* family here in Tibetan, quite distinct from the members in *-g* under (a).

A case of a definitely known *-n ~ -0* system with Chinese relatives is furnished by *gon-pa* = *bgo-pa* to put on (clothes), of which the Tibetan assembly is as follows:—

*skon-pa*, P. and F. *bskon* to dress, to clothe (another person).

*gon-pa*, also *gyon-pa*, to put on clothes (oneself); coat, clothing.

*bgo-ba*, P. and Imp. *bgos*, to put on clothes (oneself).  
*gos* garment, dress.

Here *-s* is the only suffix, so far as we know, and this family, unlike the one just discussed, does not seem to be divisible into two. The Chinese cognates in agreement with this are all in one family (K. WF. : E. 218-223), and clearly correspond with archaic *-n* to Tibetan *-n*, archaic *-r* to Tibetan *-s*, as follows:—

隱 *ien* to conceal, hide, cover, screen

衣 *ier* (covering :) clothes

屛 *ier* a screen

醫 *ier* a screen

瞖 *ier* cataract over the eye

諱 *xiwər* to conceal, hide, taboo.

It is thus far evident that the alternations *-n ~ -s*, *-n ~ -d*, *-s ~ -d* are apt to spring up in these Tibetan *-n ~ -0* families, and now we have to add a fourth one: *-n ~ -r*, of more rare occurrence, where groups definitely belonging to the *-n ~ -0* system contain members in *-r*. The group first

considered above is not known to contain any *-n* members, unless *skun-bu* small cup, bowl (= *kon-bu*) should be an old survival. The word, however, is very little known.

A striking instance for our present purpose of the occurrence of *-r* members in an *-n ~ -0* family is the following:—

*śnen-pa*, *bsñen-pa* to come or go near, to approach.

*ñen* (= *ñe*) relative, kinsman.

*gñen* relative, kinsman.

*śne-ba*, P. *bsñes*, F. *bsñe*, Imp. *śne* to lean against, to rest on, to lie down on.

*ñe-ba* to be near, to approach; near.

*śñed-pa*, P. *brñed*, *brñes*, F. *brñed* to get, to obtain; to meet with.

*ñe-r* (= *ñe-bar*) near.

*gñer-ba* (to apply oneself closely to :) to take pains with, to take care of; to procure, to acquire.

And in this case again we have the very evident Chinese cognates K. WF.: G. 40-45:—

鄰 *lĭ ĕn* near, neighbour

相 *ñĕt* clothes nearest the body

昵, 暱 *niət* near

尼 *niər* near

邇 *niar* near<sup>1</sup>

It is, of course, known that *-r* in Tibetan *ñe-r* is the so-called terminative suffix functioning in a locative sense, and the same is almost certainly the case with *rgu-r*, *sgu-r*, *dgu-r*, and *mgu-r* on a previous page, the first three of which would really mean "in a bent state", and *mgu-r* "the bending one", i.e. neck. Here, as elsewhere throughout the language, except in comparatively rare cases like *mgur*, *-r* remains sufficiently free and distinct from the root to have prevented any creation of permanent forms in *-r* from bases lacking final consonants. And this is, indeed, certainly the reason why *-n ~ -r* alternations of this origin are so comparatively rare in Tibetan.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Simon, op. cit., p. 19, No. 197.

In the case of *gñer-ba*, however, the matter is somewhat different, and we must revert to a previous observation.<sup>1</sup>

It will have been noticed already that two distinct types of word with final *-d* and *-r*<sup>2</sup> occur in Tibetan, viz. that in which the word is other than a verb, i.e. a substantive, an adjective, an adverb, or a preposition, and that in which the sense is that of a verb. Only the first of these two have we considered thus far. We now, in *gñer-ba*, come to the second. Here there is small chance that the final *-r* could be of the same "static" nature as the suffixes of the first type, where we are quite evidently dealing with elements indicating either a past (i.e. stationary) act, or the locative case, and we find ourselves in this regard with the exact duplicate in Tibetan of the Chinese system in which *-d*, *-t*, and *-r* occur with both non-verb and verb forms. Have we to suspect then in Chinese also two distinct but homophonous sets of finals, originally suffixes, the one "static" the other active? We may at this point be thought to have embarked upon the merest of speculations, but Tibetan behaviour in this regard certainly gives one some ground for the idea. It is quite certain, for instance, that *-r* in *ñe-r*, near, is a locative element, but that in *gñer-ba*, to take pains with, it cannot possibly be so.

We are thus able to state the following alternations among Tibetan final consonants: *-n* ~ *-s*, *-n* ~ *-d*, *-s* ~ *-d*, *-n* ~ *-r*.

There is another set postulated for Tibetan by Karlgren<sup>3</sup> seeming to involve a fifth final, i.e. *-l*, but I leave this on one side here, as I do not feel that any satisfactory evidence is yet to hand proving alternation between *-l* and any other final consonant in Tibetan. I have myself long felt puzzled by synonyms of the type *rtsol-ba*, *brtson-pa* to endeavour, with a seeming alternation *-l* ~ *-n*, and *sgor-ba*, *skol-ba* to boil,

<sup>1</sup> Footnote 2 on p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> The same observation is also true of Tibetan final *-s*, to which these remarks apply with equal force. As, however, *-s* does not occur in the preceding material in any but its "static" function, I do not mention it specifically here.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit., p. 36.

with what appears to be an  $-r \sim -l$  alternation, but I believe that the words or word-groups involved in such cases are really independent of each other.

I may illustrate by taking two of the groups assembled by Karlgren<sup>1</sup> as possibly involving the  $-r \sim -l$  alternation: (1) *akyer-ba* to carry away, *akur-ba* to carry, *skyel-ba* to carry away, *akylol-ba* to be carried, and (2) *akor-ba*, *akyr-ba* to turn round, *akal-ba*, *akel-ba* to twist, to spin, *akyl-ba* to twist.

These, I believe, must be split up under sub-heads as follows:—

- (1) (a) *akyer-ba*, P. and F. *akyer* to carry away, to take away.
- (b) *akur-ba*, P. and F. *kur* to carry, to convey.  
          *skur-ba*, P. F. and Imp. *bskur* to send, to transmit.  
          *kur* burden, load.
- (c) *skyel-ba*, P. and F. *bskyel*, Imp. *skyol* to conduct, to lead away, to carry off.  
          *akylol-ba*, P. *akylol* to be carried, to be brought.
- (d) *skya-ba* to carry, to convey.
- (2) (a) *akor-ba* to turn around, to revolve, to go in a circle.  
          *akor* circle, circumference.  
          *skor-ba*, P. and F. *bskor* to surround, to encircle.  
          *skor* a circle.  
          *kor* round, circular (WT. *kor-kor*).  
          *gor-mo* round, circular.  
          *sgor-ba* (WT.) to turn on a lathe.  
          *akyor-ba* to reel, to stagger; to warp, to become bent.  
          *skyor-ba* enclosure, fence.
- (b) *akyr-ba* to revolve, to turn in a circle.  
          *kyir-kyir* (WT.) round, circular.
- (c) *akal-ba*, *akel-ba* to spin.
- (d) *akyl-ba* to wind, to twist.  
          *skyl-ba*, P. and F. *bskyl* to bend.

It now appears that each sub-head really contains a distinct root, and with each such root it is evident that prefixes are

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

playing their usual part in modifying the various members in sense.

With other aspects of the question of final *-l* in Tibetan in so far as it may sometimes indicate final *-l* as the forerunner of archaic Chinese *-r* there does not appear to be sufficient material to deal satisfactorily at the present time, and the above is merely a note on the Tibetan side. At a future time I hope to revert to this question at greater length, closing now these brief remarks with the following assemblies<sup>1</sup> which will give an idea of how word families of Tibetan and Chinese having dental finals stand to each other.<sup>2</sup>

- (1)<sup>3</sup> T. *bka* word, speech; *skad-pa* to say, to tell, to relate, to name, to call; *skad* voice, sound, speech, words, talk, language.

Ch. (K. WF.: E. 138-144) 云 *giwən* to say, to have said; 言 *niän* to talk; 諺 *niän* a saying, proverb; 話 *giwəd* talk, speech, words; 謂 *giwəd* to say; 曰 *giwät* to say; 謁 *iät* to tell, report.

- (2) T. *bkan-pa* to put, press, or apply (hand or foot to), to push, to place (hand or foot) upon.

Ch. (K. WF.: E. 252-258) 按 *än* to press down, lay hand on; 印 *iän* (to press down:) to seal, a seal; 尉 *iwəd* to press down, subdue, pacify; 慰 *iwəd* to pacify, soothe, comfort; 軋 *at* to press down under the wheels, to crush; 抑 *iät* to press down, repress; 壓 *iwət* (to press:) to iron linen.

- (3)<sup>4</sup> T. *rko-ba*, *rkod-pa*, P. (*b*)*rkos*, F. *brko*, Imp. *rkos* to dig, to excavate, to hoe, to engrave.

<sup>1</sup> The following additional abbreviations will be used here: S = Simon, "Tib.-Chin. Wortgleichungen," as already quoted in full; L = Laufer, in the *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 116-121, an appendix to his article "The Si-Hia Language". Both these sources are quoted by equation number, not by page.

<sup>2</sup> The assemblies should not be regarded as necessarily correct in all particulars. Various problems present themselves which will undoubtedly call for a revision of some cases only tentatively advanced here. The entries are arranged according to their finals in the order *-n*, *-o*, *-s*, *-d*, *-l*, *-r*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S., No. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S., No. 164; L., No. 61.

Ch. (K. WF.: E. 114-123) 𡵓 *kwán* a hole; 畎 *kiwan* a dug ditch, canal; 剋 *wán* to scoop out, dig; 闕 *kiwät* a hole in a wall, opening, gate; 掘 *giwät* to make a hole; *giwet* to dig, excavate; 穴 *giwet* hole, pit, cave; 窟 *kwet* hole, pit, cave; 搨 *kwet* to dig, make a pit; 挖 *wat* to dig, excavate; 抉 *iwat* to dig out (e.g. a person's eyes).

- (4)<sup>1</sup> T. *gčod-pa*, P. *bčad*, F. *gčad*, Imp. *čod* to cut (off, down, out, etc.), to rend asunder, to break, to sever; *čod* the cutting off, deciding; *čod-pa* to be cut off, to be decided, to be settled; *ačad-pa*, P. *čad* to be cut (off, down, out, etc.), to be severed, to be ended.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 15-37) 𠂔 *twán* to cut to pieces; 短 *twán* (cut short:) short; 斷 *twán*, *d'wán* to cut off; 段 *d'wán* (a cut-off piece:) section, piece, slice; 剉 *d'wán*, *t'iwán* to cut to pieces; 膊 *d'iwán* to mince meat; 剗 *tsán* to cut, cut off; 剪, 翦 *tsjan* to cut, clip; 刊 *tswn* to cut to pieces; 刪 *san* to cut; 制 *t'iad* to cut, trim, restrain, regulate; 製 *t'iad* to cut; 鋌 *tičt* sickle, to cut grain; 截 *d'ziat* to cut off; 絕 *d'ziwat* to cut off; 節 *tsiet* section; 切 *tsiet* to cut; 剃 *tier* to cut hair; 薙 *tier* to cut grass; 齏 *tsier* to mince; 劑 *d'zier* to cut, to trim; 穢 *d'zier* to cut grain.

- (5)<sup>2</sup> T. *ačad-pa*, P. and F. *bšad*, Imp. *šod* to explain, to tell, to relate; *bšad-pa* id.; *rjod-pa*, P. and F. *brjod* to say, to utter, to pronounce, to propound; *brjod* sound, talking, speech; *šod-pa*, P. *bšad* to say, to declare, to state; *gšad-pa* to explain, to relate, to tell.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 339-341) 誓 *d'iad* a speech, pronounce-ment, declaration; 說 *šiwad* to speak to, *šiwat* to speak, explain; 舌 *d'iat* tongue.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S., No. 168; L., No. 71.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S., No. 175.

- (6) <sup>1</sup> T. *ču* water, river; *qču-ba*, P. *bčus*, F. *bču*, Imp. *čus* to water, to irrigate, to ladle or scoop up water; *bčud* moisture, juice, sap.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 290-1) 準 *t'iwən* a water level; 水 *šiwər* water.

- (7) <sup>2</sup> T. *če-ba* great, greatness; *če-ba*, P. *čes* to be great; *čen-po* (Balti and Cent. T.) great; — *mčed-pa* to spread or become extended, to gain ground (as a fire), to become great.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 292-4) 大 *d'ád* great; 大, 泰 *tád* great; — (K. WF.: F. 185-198) 攤 *tán* to extend, spread; 誕 *d'án* to extend, enlarge, large, exaggerate; 闡 *t'ian* to enlarge, open out; 撻 *tian* drawn out, long; 延 *dian* to extend, spread out, prolong, etc.; 筵 *dian* (what is spread out:) mat; 演 *dian* to expand, extend; 陳 *d'ien* to spread out in a row, arrange; 陣 *d'ien* a troupe spread out in a row, array; 引 *dien* to draw out, stretch, lead, etc.; 申 *šien* to extend, expand, make known, repeat, etc.; 伸 *šien* to extend, stretch out; 示 *d'ier* (to spread out:) make known, exhibit, proclaim, announcement, presage; 長里 *šer* to extend, spread out, display, etc.

- (8) <sup>3</sup> T. *mčsan* grandchild, nephew; *tsa-bo* grandson; *tsa-mo* granddaughter, niece; *btsa-ba*, P. *btsas* to bear, to bring forth, to give birth to; *btsas-ma*, *rtsas-ma* harvest, wages, pay.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 46-7) 娠 *t'ien*, *šien* pregnant; 產 *san* to bear.

- (9) T. *žen-pa* to desire, to long for, to be attached to; *že* inclination, affection, heart, volition, desire; *gčē-ba* to love, to hold dear, to cherish; *brtse-ba*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S., No. 271.

<sup>2</sup> The two Chinese groups in this case, although kept apart by Karlgren, appear possibly to be related. I have indicated the same apparent division in Tibetan, where, however, only one group is probably in question.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S., No. 214.

to love, love, affection; *gčes-pa* dear, beloved, precious, valuable; *bžed-pa* to wish, to desire.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 60-2) 親 *tsiēn* close, intimate, love, etc.; 櫬 *tsiēn* inner coffin (closest to the body); 襯 *tsiēn* inner garments.

(10)<sup>1</sup> T. *rtse(-mo)* point, peak, summit; *mčē-ba* canine tooth, eye tooth, fang, tusk; *mje* penis; *ts'er-ma* thorn, prick, brier; *mdzer-pa*, *adzer-pa* knot, excrescence, wart, pimple; *gzer*, *zer* nail, tack; *gzer-ba* to bore into, to pierce.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 38-45) 端 *twān* point, tip, end; 箭 *tsiān* arrow; 錢 *tsiān* hoe; 鑄 *tsiwan* to pierce, engrave, incise; 筍 *siwān* (points :) bamboo shoots; 銳 *dziwād* pointed, sharp; 錐 *t'iwər* pointed, sharp, awl, tip; 矢 *šjər* arrow.

(11) T. *tsan* hot, warm; *gžen-pa* to light, to kindle; *tsa-ba* to be hot, heat, hot, warm; *tso* (Balti) hot; *atsod-pa*, *atsed-pa*, P. *btsos*, F. *btso*, Imp. *tsos*, *tsod* to cook; *tsad-pa* heat; *mtsəd* cremation, burning (*dur-mtsəd* cremation ground).

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 207-215) 燂 *tian* to burn, to cook; 焔 *twān* colour of fire; *d'wān* torch for burning divination shell; 煎 *tsiān* to roast, fry; 爨 *tswān* to make fire, burn, cook; 饌, 簋 *dzwan* cooked food; 餽 *tsiwan* fire-prepared, cooked food; 燒 *tswān*, *tsiwan*, *tswət* to make fire, burn; 燧 *dziwəd* to ignite, draw fire.

(12)<sup>2</sup> T. *gzan-pa* to eat, to devour, to gnaw; *añan-ba* to swallow, to devour; *bzan* food of animals, pasture, pasturage; *zan* pap, porridge, fodder, an eater; *za-ba*, *bza-ba*, P. *zos*, *bzas*, F. *bza*, Imp. *zo*, *zos* to eat, food, victuals, meat; *zas* food, nourishment.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 100-102) 吞 *twān* to swallow, gulp down, devour; 餐 *tsān* to swallow, gulp down,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L., Nos. 7, 56, 77.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S., No. 228; L., No. 11.

devour; 囓 *tswad* to devour (swallow a whole slice of meat in one mouthful).

- (13) <sup>1</sup> T. *zin-pa* to draw near an end, to be at an end, to be exhausted, finished, or consumed.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 352) 盡 *tsjĕn* to exhaust, *d'zjĕn* exhausted, empty.

- (14) <sup>2</sup> T. *gšad-pa*, *gšod-pa*, *šad-pa* to comb, to brush, to stroke.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 156-9) 攄 *dziwad* broom; 幌 *šjĭwad*, *šjĭwət* towel, kerchief; 帥 *šjĭwət* towel, kerchief; 刷 *šjĭwat* to brush, to scrape clean.

- (15) <sup>3</sup> T. *mñen-pa* flexible, pliant, supple, soft.

Ch. (K. WF.: G. 46-7) 輭 *niwan* weak, soft; 軟 *nuwən* weak, soft.

- (16) <sup>4</sup> T. *rten-pa*, P. and F. *brten*, Imp. *rtön* to keep, to hold, to adhere to, to depend on, to rely on, to lean on; *rten* a hold, a support, a receptacle, a seat, an abode; *sten-pa*, P. and F. *bsten*, Imp. *sten* to keep, to hold, to adhere to, to depend on, to rely on; *rton-pa*, *brton-pa*, *brtan-pa* to place confidence in, to rely upon; *brtan-po* firm, steadfast, safe, firmness; *qñan-pa* firmness, constancy; *bstan* (the established thing:) doctrine; *gtan-pa* order, system, duration, always, continually, entirely completely; *bden-pa* (reliable:) to be true, true, truth; *qñad-pa* firmness, constancy; *gtad-pa* hold, steadiness, firmness; *dad-pa* (feel dependence in:) to believe.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 54-7) 實 *tān* true, sincere; 真 *t'jĕn* true, sincere; 信 *sjĕn* true, believe, faith; 恊 *sjĭwĕn* true, sincere.

- (17) <sup>5</sup> T. *dron-mo* warm, *dro-ba* to be warm, warm, warmth; *dro* the hot part of the day; *dros-pa* heated, grown warm; *dros* the hot part of the day; *drod* warmth, heat.

Ch. (K. WF.: G. 1-14) 爛 *glān* heated through, well

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S., No. 229; L., No. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S., No. 174; L., No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S., No. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. S., No. 223.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L., No. 96.

cooked, etc.; 鍊, 煉 *glian* to smelt, to refine; 烈 *liat* burning, flaming, bright; (赧 *nan* (hot in the face:) to blush, ashamed; 然, 燃 *nian* to burn, roast; 煖, 煖 *nuan* hot, warm; 燙 *nuan* hot water; 熱 *njat* hot, heat; 熬 *njwat* to burn, to heat; 日 *njēt*<sup>1</sup> sun, sun heat; 怩 *njer* (hot in the face) to blush ashamed).

- (18) T. *mtun-pa*, *atun-pa* to agree, to be in harmony, agreement, harmony; *stun-pa*, P. and F. *bstun* to agree, to be in harmony, to harmonize, to make agree.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 118-128) 順 *d'iwən* to follow, obey, accord with; 殉 *dziwən* to follow in death; 遵 *tsiwən* to follow, obey, accord with; 循 *dziwən* to follow, accord with; 馴 *dziwən* (obeying:) docile, tamed (horse); 孫 *swən*<sup>2</sup> (follower:) grandson; 遂 *dziwəd* to follow; 帥, 率 *šiwəd* leader; 述 *d'iwət* to follow; 帥, 率 *šiwət* to follow, (cause to follow:) to lead; 追 *tiwər* to follow after.

- (19)<sup>3</sup> T. *mdun* (meeting part:) fore-part, front side; *mdun-ma* (united:) wife; *adun-ma* council, association, meeting, society, (united:) bride; *adu-ba*, P. *adus* to assemble, to come together, to meet, to unite or be joined with one another (as husband and wife), to get married, to be pressed or crowded together; *adus-pa*, *adu-ba* assembly, gathering, meeting; *bsdus-pa*, *adus-pa* (put together:) to consist of, to be made up of; *sdud-pa*, P. *bsdus*, F. *bsdu*, Imp. *sdud*, *bsdu* to put together, to join, to unite (others, as e.g. husband and wife), to marry, to condense, to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S., No. 206. A problem presents itself here. T. *ni-ma* "sun", *nin(-mo)* "day", though evidently belonging with 日 *njēt* and its relatives, cannot possibly belong to the same group as *dron-mo*, *dro-ba*, etc., as there is no evidence in Tibetan that families in *-r*- subscript ever have relatives in *n-* or *ñ-*. The Chinese assembly should probably be divided as Karlgren has indicated by punctuation, and I here emphasize by parentheses.

<sup>2</sup> There is a curious resemblance here to T. *mtsən* "grandchild" under (8) above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S., Nos. 170, 224; L., Nos. 7, 20.

compress; *sdud* (pressing together:) folds of a garment; *dud-pa* to tie, to knot; *mdud-pa* knot, bow.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 150-3) 屯 *d'wən* to collect, to mass, a group of soldiers, a camp, to camp; 隊 *d'wəd* a group of soldiers, a regiment; 最 *d'zwəd* to collect, to assemble, accumulate; 萃 *d'z'wəd* to collect, numerous, dense, thicket.

(20) T. *spun-pa*, *sbrun-pa* chaff, husks; *pu-tse* husks of barley, bran; *pu* a puff of breath; *qbud-pa*, P. *bus*, *pu(s)*, F. *dbu*, Imp. *pu(s)* to blow (intr. and tr.), to blow away (as chaff); *bud* a cloud of dust; *sbud-pa* bellows (*sbud qbud-pa* to blow bellows).

Ch. (K. WF.: H. 54-7) 扮 *ḡwən* dust; 粉 *piwən* (powdered:) flour; 奎 *piwən* to dust; 拂 *piwət* to dust.

(21) T. *ap'ur-ba*, P. *pur* to fly (Tsang *ap'ir-ba*); *spur-ba* to make fly, to scare up; *qbur-ba* to rise, to be prominent, to spring up, to come forth; *ap'pyur-ba* to mount, to rise up; *byur-po*, *byur-bu* heaped up, made into a mound (as corn).

Ch. (K. WF.: H. 1-5) 翻 *piwän* to fly; 翩 *p'ien* to fly; 奮, 翫 *piwən* to fly; 飛 *piwər* to fly.

(22) T. *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism; *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind; *qbye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* to open (vb. intr.), to divide, to separate; *qbyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *pye*, *pyed*, *pyes*, F. *dbye* to open (vb. tr.), to separate, to keep apart, to divide, to distinguish, to classify, to pick out, to choose, to select; *pyed* half; *dpyad* an instrument to open the mouth by force; *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med* lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction; *qbyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* to disperse (as in flight), to scatter (vb. intr.), to flee in different directions.

Ch. (K. WF.: H. 26-44) 采 *ḡän* to separate, distinguish,

discriminate; 辨 *bǎn*, *b'ian* to divide, distinguish, discriminate; 辯 *b'ian* to distinguish, discriminate, argue; 片 *p'ian* cleft wood, splint, slice, slip, board, tablet; 篇 *p'ian* (cleft wood :) writing tablet; 半 *pwán* divide in half, half; 判 *p'wán* to cleave, divide, discriminate; 胖 *p'wán* one-half of a victim divided in two parts; 班 *pwán* to distribute; 板, 版, *pwán* board; 扁 *p'ien* board, tablet, flat; 分 *p'iwén* to divide, *b'iwén* a part; 刎 *m'iwén* to cut, cut the throat; 別 *p'iat*, *b'iat* to cleave, separate, divide; 伐 *b'iwát* to cut, attack; 剝 *b'iwát* to cut, attack; 仳 *p'iar* to separate, part; 荆 *b'iwér* to cut off the feet, amputate.

- (23) T. *mun-pa* obscurity, darkness, obscure, dark; *dmun-pa* darkened, obscured (as the mind); *rmun-po* dull, heavy, stupid; *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog; *rmus-pa* dull, heavy, peevish, listless, foggy, gloomy, dark.

Ch. (K. WF. : H. 94-110) 瞞 *mwán* closed eyes, darkened sight; 瞢, 瞢 *m'ien* darkened intelligence, stupid; 民 *m'ien* the common people (the "darkened, stupid ones"); 眠 *mien* closed eyes, to sleep; 昏 *χmwén* darkness, darkened, darkened intelligence, stupid; 瞢, 瞢, 瞢, 瞢 *χmwén* dim sight, darkened intelligence; 昧 *mwád* troubled sight; 昧 *mwád* darkness before dawn; 寐 *miád* to sleep; 昧 *mwát* troubled sight; 忽 *χmwát* not discerning, stupid, careless; 眯 *miér* something in the eye, troubled sight; 迷 *miér* (to blind :) to confuse, lead astray.

## On the Age of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

By GORAKH PRASAD, D.Sc.

BAUDHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA states<sup>1</sup>: *tad (= tatra, sc. devayajane) etām prācīnavanśām śālām māpayati; kṛttikāḥ khalv imāḥ prācīm diśam na parijahati: tāsāṃ samdarśanena māpayed ity etad ekam; śroṇāsamdarśanena māpayed ity etad ekam; citrāsvātīyor antarenety etad aparam.*

Barth<sup>2</sup> interprets east in the above passage to mean due east, and therefore holds the first alternative to be derived from old tradition, as it gives a date somewhere about 3000 B.C. The second alternative presents the difficulty that Śroṇa (α Aquilæ) never rose in the east. It rose nearest the east in the first or second century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> but conditions were not much different half a millennium before or after this date. A difficulty occurs also in the case of the third alternative, because Citrā was only 3 degrees south of the equator in the sixth century A.D., and at all dates earlier than that it was still nearer the equator; hence a point between Citrā and Svātī would not have been mentioned instead of Citrā itself, unless the latter was very much to the south of the equator. Considering all this, Barth came to the conclusion that the rule of the Sūtra must be very modern, perhaps later than the sixth century A.D.

It must be noted, however, that the sixth century A.D. is evidently a compromise, and an unsatisfactory one. On

<sup>1</sup> xxvii, 5. It is translated by Caland as follows: "Hier lasse er die Śālā (d.h. die Stelle, wo die Śālā erbaut werden soll) abmessen. Die Kṛttikās verlassen ja die östliche Himmelsgegend nicht: nach (d.h.: d'après) deren Erscheinung soll er sie abmessen lassen, so ist die eine Möglichkeit. Nach der Erscheinung von Śravaṇa, so ist eine andere Möglichkeit; zwischen Citrā und Svātī, so ist noch eine andere Möglichkeit."

<sup>2</sup> See Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> This is not mentioned by Barth, but is easy to prove. At that time it rose about 6 degrees to the north of east in a place of latitude 25 degrees.

the hypothesis of Barth the seventh or the eighth century A.D. would suit the arguments better, and the Sūtra in question cannot by any means be so late as even the sixth century A.D.

Another explanation is given by Winternitz,<sup>1</sup> in which east is not supposed to be due east. The interpretation held to be correct is that "they [the Kṛttikās] remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night, which was the case about 1100 B.C."

The last remark of Winternitz—"which was the case about 1100 B.C."—is positively misleading. Granted that his explanation is the correct one, any date between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 11000 would suit it very well. And then, any star north of the equator would do. Why, then, did the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa<sup>2</sup> say *anyāni nakṣatrāṇi prācyai diśaścyavante*? And why does our Sūtra mention "a point intermediate between Citrā and Svāti"?

The correct explanation is perhaps as follows :—The notice in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa must really refer to the period when the Kṛttikās rose almost exactly in the east, as believed by Barth, Dikshit,<sup>3</sup> Jacobi,<sup>4</sup> and others. Force of tradition must have made people still orient their Śālās by the Kṛttikās, even when they rose somewhat north of the true east. At a later time observation must have shown that the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose at the same point of the horizon, Citrā rose somewhat south of that point, and Svāti to the north. Hence our Sūtra gives three alternatives.

It is easy to calculate when this happened. I find that Alcyone (the brightest of the stars in the Kṛttikās) and α Aquilæ (Śroṇa) rose at the same point of the horizon about 1330 B.C. At that time, in a place of latitude 25 degrees, these stars rose about 10 degrees to the north of east; Citrā rose  $2\frac{1}{4}$  degrees to the south of the point where the Kṛttikās rose,

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Indian Literature*, translated by Mrs. Ketkar, vol. i, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *IA.*, 24, p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 463.

and Svāti rose 35 degrees to the north of the same point.<sup>1</sup> Hence the point where the Kṛttikās rose was then really intermediate between the points where Citrā and Svāti rose. The distance of this point from the rising point of Citrā was equal to one-sixteenth of that between the rising points of Citrā and Svāti.

The reason why a point intermediate between Citrā and Svāti was preferred to some star rising approximately at the same point of the horizon as the Kṛttikās appears to be the absence of a bright star in a suitable position. The rising of the Kṛttikās could be observed only when they rose in the night, after evening twilight was over and before the morning one had commenced. This would give a period of not more than five months in which the risings of the Kṛttikās could be seen. Three points in the heavens, nearly equidistant from each other, would therefore be required if the process of orientation was to be possible by means of the *nakṣatras* throughout the year. Starting from the Kṛttikās, the *nakṣatra* which should have been chosen on this principle would be Phalgunī or Hasta. But these asterisms did not contain any star of the first magnitude and hence could not be clearly seen at the moment of rising. The next *nakṣatra* Citrā, was bright enough (magnitude = 1.21), but did not rise at the correct point of the horizon. The next after that, Svāti, was also bright (magnitude = 0.24), but also did not rise at the correct point. Hence the Sūtra mentioned a point intermediate between Citrā and Svāti.

It must be remarked that Śroṇa is a first magnitude star (magnitude = 0.89) and is in the most suitable position for being observed when the risings of the Kṛttikās or of Citrā and Svāti are not visible. (The distance of Śroṇa from the Kṛttikās is about 120 degrees.)

It has been argued that the ancient Hindu astronomers

<sup>1</sup> The date 1330 B.C. is not affected by the assumed latitude. The direction of the point where the stars rose would be slightly altered if we assume a different latitude.

could not observe the equinoctial point with any accuracy, and therefore all observations involving this point should be looked upon with caution. It must be remembered that the observations which we are discussing here need not be connected with the equinoctial point at all. If a person always observes from a fixed point <sup>1</sup> (as probably the ancients did to conform with the rituals) and the horizon is at a distance of more than a mile, as it generally is in India, the direction of the sun or a bright star at the moment of rising can be noted to at least within half a degree without any instruments.<sup>2</sup> Hence we need not be surprised that Citrā by itself was not mentioned in the rule for orientation, as it rose  $2\frac{1}{4}$  degrees away from the required point. We may conclude from this that the date obtained above, viz. 1330 B.C., is correct to within a hundred years one way or the other.<sup>3</sup>

Those who, with Jacobi and Tilak, take the date of the Brāhmaṇas to be about 2500 B.C., would not perhaps find 1330 B.C. too early for the Sūtras. But those who take the Brāhmaṇas to be of more recent origin might take this to be the date of some old tradition of the times when the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose at the same point of the horizon.

The weak points in the above interpretation appear to me to be two :—

(1) Instead of mentioning a point intermediate between Citrā and Svāti, a more definite indication should have been given.<sup>4</sup> But there might have been some such tradition, which

<sup>1</sup> A change of 30 feet would not matter. It would produce a difference of less than one-third of a degree, if the horizon is at a distance of 1 mile, and correspondingly less if the horizon is more distant.

<sup>2</sup> The diameter of the moon is about half a degree.

<sup>3</sup> In 100 years the distance between the points of the horizon at which the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose would become about 1 degree.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Allahabad University, to whom I am indebted for a critical reading of this paper, points out that though *citrāsvātyor antareṣa* literally means "between Citrā and Svāti", it can mean "midway between Citrā and Svāti", and here most probably it means this and nothing else, for otherwise the rule would not give a precise datum. But if this meaning be taken as correct, it cannot be reconciled either with my theory or with that of Barth.

is now lost ; or the observer might have been expected to find it out for himself by observing the rising points of Śroṇa, Citrā, and Svātī, at the time of the year when the risings of all these could be observed.

(2) In 1330 B.C. the Kṛttikās rose about 10 degrees to the north of east, and still they were supposed in the Sūtra under discussion to rise in the east. This must be ascribed to the ignorance of precession and the reverence in which the Brāhmaṇas were held in the time of the Sūtras.

In spite of these weak points, the writer considers the interpretation here given to be far more probable than that of Barth or Winternitz.

259.

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## The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

(Concluded from p. 252.)

1. Even if a king follows a path contrary to religion and to reason he is nevertheless praised by his subjects (on account of fear); he, therefore, hardly knows what is appropriate or not.

2. It would be very difficult to say to anybody else what is appropriate, when it is unpleasant; how much more will that be to an emperor as you are, since I am speaking, a simple monk as I am?

3. But on account of your love and because I feel compassion for the living beings, I alone will say to you what befits you, though it will be extremely unpleasant.

4. (The master), out of his compassion, must say at the proper moment to his disciple what benefits him, is true, mild, and full of significance.

So said the Blessed one. You are now instructed according to this principle.

5. If a man persists in being mild and truthful when he is praised, he will always accept that which is worth hearing; even so those who want to wash themselves choose water possessing good properties.

6. When I say these words to you knowing that they are profitable in this life and in other existences, put them into practice; they will prove useful to yourself and to the world.

7. You have got your wealth since you were liberal in former existences; but if, being ungrateful and greedy, you are not now also liberal towards those who beg some help from you, you will never get this wealth any more.

8. A servant, if he is not paid, does not carry in this world any provision on the way, but a poor beggar without being paid carries for the other life baggage a hundred times heavier.

9. Be always noble-minded and delighting in noble deeds, because from a noble deed every kind of noble fruits are derived.

10. Make your temple<sup>1</sup> the prosperous and renowned abode of the Three Jewels, unhurt even in thought by mean kings.

11. It is better not to build that temple which does not cause horripilation to neighbouring kings, since it is not a glory even when one is dead.

12. With the example of your extreme generosity let the admiration and the endeavours of the generous ones grow and kill the endeavours of the dull-witted ones, even at the cost of all your possessions.

13. Even against your will you must give up everything and pass into another existence. But whatever has been employed for the law will go ahead.

14. The property of a previous king has fallen into the hands of the king (his successor); of what use can it then be to the religion, happiness and glory of his predecessor?

15. From the enjoyment of your wealth you get only happiness in this life, but from the gift of that wealth you will get happiness in a future existence. Since whatever has not been either given or enjoyed is lost,<sup>2</sup> sorrow only is derived from that wealth; how can that produce happiness?

16. When you are on the very point of death you are unable to give away; you are, in fact, then no longer master of your will on account of your ministers becoming disaffected towards the king whose departure is impending and eager to do what pleases the new prince.

17. While, therefore, you enjoy good health, even at the cost of all your wealth, quickly build a temple. You are in fact amidst the very conditions from which death comes, like a lamp put where a strong wind blows.

18. Let all other religious duties, such as processions, etc., established by former kings, continue as they are.

<sup>1</sup> Tib. *gtsoq lag k'an*.

<sup>2</sup> Since it is subject to destruction by fire, etc.

19. Let them be attended by those who harm nobody, whose conduct is pure, who keep their vows, please their guests, are patient towards everybody, lovers of peace, and always energetic.

20. Let blind, sick, crippled, afflicted, helpless, beggars equally get food and drink without offence.

21. Bestow the same favours upon the followers of the law even if they are in no need and if they reside in other kingdoms.

22. Appoint as officers entrusted with the supervision of spiritual affairs those who are diligent in spiritual affairs, not greedy, wise, acting according to the law, never acting against their (duty).<sup>1</sup>

23. Appoint as your ministers those who know the right politics, who are observant of the law, affectionate, pure, faithful, brave, of good family, rich in moral virtues, grateful.

24. Appoint as ministers of war just those who are noble-minded, liberal, brave, affectionate, wealthy, steady, always attentive, observant of law.

25. Appoint as ministers of finance those whose habits are in agreement with the law, who are pure, clever, able in business, expert in learning, of perfect conduct, impartial, kind, advanced in age.

26. Every month hear from them the report of the expenditure and of the income; and, after having heard it, you must say yourself whatever must be done as regards the various offices, viz. that of the supervision of spiritual affairs and the others.

27. If your kingdom is ruled by you not on account of worldly renown nor of worldly pleasures but with the purpose of protecting the law, then it will be extremely fruitful; otherwise it will be conducive to misfortune.

28. Generally, O king, in this world one is the prey of the

<sup>1</sup> There are four kinds of officers: (a) those entrusted with spiritual affairs (*c'os dpon*); (b) ministers (*bka'la gtogs pa*); (c) generals (*dmag dpon*); (d) ministers of finance (*nor gyi gñer*).

others; still listen to the method by which you may have two things (apparently irreconcilable), viz. kingdom and law.

29. You must always collect many ministers inspecting various businesses, possessing the experience of old men, born in high families, who know the rules of government and are afraid of committing sin.

30. Even if they order according to justice, punishment, imprisonment, and beating (of culprits), be yourself always moved to compassion and disposed to kindness.

31. With your compassion, O king, you must always bend to righteousness the mind of all living beings, even of those who have committed terrible sins.<sup>1</sup>

32. Special compassion indeed one must feel for those cruel persons who have committed terrible sins; in fact these miserable men are the proper object for the compassion of noble-minded men.

33. Every day or every five days set free prisoners who are becoming weak [by the imprisonment]; set free all the others also according to the proper course; let nobody remain in prison.

34. If the thought does not come to your mind to set somebody free, this means that you have not yet a perfect control of your feelings as regards that man. But from this lack of control perpetual accumulation of sin is derived.

35. Up to the time of their discharge let them enjoy a pleasant imprisonment and the comfort of barbers, baths, drinks, food, medicines, and garments.

36. You must punish them from compassion and from a desire to turn them into worthy persons, as you do as regards unworthy sons; but you must not be moved by hatred or by desire of material welfare.<sup>2</sup>

37. After having pondered (the proper means) and having

<sup>1</sup> That is those for which there is no other expiation but hell.

<sup>2</sup> Tib. Snod med pa yi bu dag la | snod du ruñ bar gyi ãdod ltar || añin rje yis ni ts'ar bcad pa yi | sdañ bas ma yin nor p'yir min ||

well known the case, you must expel from the country bad people and murderers, without killing or injuring them.

38. Uninfluenced [by others] you must explore your state with the eyes of the spies ; always attentive and thoughtful you must do whatever business is in accordance with the law.

39. Always honour with generous gifts, respect and homage those who take their resort to virtue, and as is proper, others also, but according to their merits.

40. The king may be compared to a tree whose abundant flowers are the respect bestowed upon the worthy, whose great fruits are his liberality, whose shadow is his forbearance ; the subjects will take shelter in his kingdom like birds in such a tree.

41. If a king possessing the virtues of liberality and morality is also full of majesty, he pleases his subjects like a sweet-meat of sugar, hardened by cardamon and pepper.

42. Following this policy, you will get a kingdom not ruled by the " policy of the fish " ; acting in this way there will be neither unrule nor injustice, but law only.<sup>1</sup>

43. You did not carry with you this kingdom from the other world, nor will you carry it thither (after death). It has been obtained through law, and therefore, if you want to get it (in another life), you must not do anything against law.

44. You must endeavour, O king, with all your energy not to gain at the price of that capital which is the kingdom those goods of sorrow which are wont to come one after the other.

45. But rather with all your energy you must endeavour, O king, so that at the price of that capital which is your kingdom you may enjoy a long series of royal goods.<sup>2</sup>

46. Even if one obtains as universal emperor supremacy

<sup>1</sup> " Policy of the fish ", viz. the pre-eminence of mere strength.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. getting even in a future life a royal status instead of rebirth in one of the bad conditions of existence.

over the world with its four continents, one can only experience two kinds of joy, one physical and the other mental.<sup>1</sup>

47. Bodily pleasure is a pleasant sensation which merely consists in the removal of pain; the mental one consists in mere ideas, and is produced only by imagination.

48. In this world any kind of pleasure is either a mere removal of pain or a mere imagination; it is therefore in fact unreal.

49. The four continents (as in the case of the universal emperor), the territory, the town, the habitation, the place of residence, sits, cloths, beds, food, drinking, elephants, horses, women are enjoyed severally.

50. Whenever and wherever our mind is fixed [upon something], from that and then only pleasure is derived. But all other things have in fact no scope in so far as at that moment we do not pay attention to them.

51. When one, perceiving the five objects of sense-perception with the five senses, such as the eye, etc., does not work with the imagination, then, for this reason, one does not feel any pleasure in them.

52. When we know a certain object with a certain sense, then, we do not know other objects with the other senses, since at that time the other [objects] are no object [of perception, not being in relation with the senses].

53. The mind perceiving the form of an object which has already been perceived by the senses and (is therefore) past, working with the imagination, thinks it to be a pleasure.

54. If, in this world, one sense knows only one object, then, without its object of perception, that sense would have no scope and the object also will have no scope without the sense which perceives it [in so far as both are reciprocally conditioned].

<sup>1</sup> A long discussion here begins meant to show that no pleasure (and therefore, for necessary implication, no pain) is *per se* existent or possessed of characteristics *per se* existent. This leads Nāgārjuna to discuss also perception in its various aspects and to conclude that no such fact as perception can be said to be existent.

55. The birth of a son is conditioned by the mother and the father<sup>1</sup>; even so it is stated that the production of consciousness is conditioned by a sense, e.g. the eye and its object, viz. the object visible.

56. Objects along with their (correspondent) sensory moments, either past or future, are of no purpose [as regards the production of consciousness]; even so the present ones because they cannot be dissociated from the two aforesaid moments.

57. The eye wrongly perceives as a wheel a turning fire-brand: even so all senses [wrongly] perceive the various objects as being present.<sup>2</sup>

58. The organs of senses as well as the objects of senses are said to be composed of the five material elements; but since each element is *in se* unreal, even those senses and those objects are in fact unreal.<sup>3</sup>

59. If we conceive the material elements as being separate, the consequence would be that fire can burn without any fuel: if, on the other hand, they are combined together, it is impossible to speak of their characteristics: the same decision must also be applied to the other elements.

60. In this way, since the material elements are in either case (viz. either separately taken or combined) unreal, their combination is (also) unreal; since their combination is unreal, material forms are therefore unreal.

61. [In the same way the other] constituents like

<sup>1</sup> This to meet the objection that there must be objects and their perception through the senses, since consciousness (*vijñāna*) exists.

<sup>2</sup> In these two stanzas Nāgārjuna meets the objection that *vijñāna* exists since its objects exist; but while the contents of consciousness are distinct in accordance with their temporal succession, the Mādhyamika does not admit any time to be *per se* existent; present is only existent in relation to a past or a future. The perception of something as present is due to mental bewilderment, as when we wrongly take a turning firebrand to be a wheel.

<sup>3</sup> This stanza replies to the objection that senses and objects of senses exist since their cause, viz. material elements, exist; but since no material element can be demonstrated to be *in se* existent, their effect must necessarily be unreal.

consciousness, sensation, ideas, and forces separately taken are *in se* completely unreal: therefore from the standpoint of the absolute truth there is only unreality.

62. Just as there is an assumption of pleasure, when in fact there is removal of pain, even so the assumption of pain is derived from obstruction of pleasure.

63. By [meditation on the principle that] everything is devoid of any essence one puts an end to the thirst after association with pleasure and the thirst after dissociation from pain: for those who see (such a truth) there is liberation thence.

64. If you ask who can see that, we reply that from the standpoint of conventional truth it is the mind which sees that (but not from the absolute standpoint); in fact (the function of) mind is not possible without mental contents nor along with these, since it will serve no purpose.<sup>1</sup>

65. When one, perceiving that there is nothing which one can depend upon, considers this world according to its real nature, viz. as unreal, then, having extinguished the sources of attachment, one enters into Nirvāṇa, just as fire which is extinguished when the combustible matter comes to an end.

66. The Bodhisattva also has this vision and therefore he is certain to attain to the perfect illumination; but it is only out of compassion that he passes from one existence to another, before entering the gate of the supreme illumination.<sup>2</sup>

67. The Tathāgatas have expounded in the Great Vehicle, the accumulation (of merit and knowledge) of the Bodhisattvas: only those who are bewildered by foolishness or hatred can find fault with it.

68. A man abusing the Great Vehicle is one who does not distinguish between merits and sins, or one who takes merits to be defects or one who hates merits.

<sup>1</sup> Its contents being in this case already given in it.

<sup>2</sup> They renounce to disappear into *nirvāṇa* in order to benefit creatures.

69. An abuser of Mahāyāna is said to be one who knows that sins are of harm to others and merits benefit others and still abuses Mahāyāna.

70. He who hates the Great Vehicle, which is a mine of merits, in so far as it rejoices in benefiting others without any consideration for personal interest, is thereby burnt (by the fire of hell).

71. Even a man possessing faith (in the law) may hate the merits (of the Great Vehicle) on account of some principle badly understood<sup>1</sup>; even so somebody else being addicted to anger. But (the scripture) says: "Even a man possessing faith may be burnt (by the fire of hell)"; How much greater will the danger be for a man inclined to hatred?

72. The doctors say that a poison can be the antidote of another poison; even so there is no contradiction when we state that man must dispel what is harmful to him even at the cost of his own pain.<sup>2</sup>

73. Tradition says that mind goes in front of the elements of existence<sup>3</sup> and mind is the best among them. If one, being only interested in what is salutary, does what is salutary, even at the cost of personal pain, how can that prove unprofitable to him?

74. One must do that which will, in the future, be salutary to oneself and to others even if it is (at present) painful; how much more, then, must he do that which is pleasant and equally salutary to the doer and to others? This is the eternal law.

75. If by giving up a bit of pleasure one may get afterwards a large joy, a brave man should give up that bit of pleasure, having in his mind the large joy to be gained in the future.

76. If one is unable to stand even that, then doctors, etc.,

<sup>1</sup> The wrong interpretation of the unsubstantiality (*sūnya*) of things.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the *duṣkara-caryā* implicit in the practice of Mahāyāna.

<sup>3</sup> "*Mano-purvāṅgamā dhammā, mano-seṭṭhā mañomayā*," *Dhamma pada*, 1, 2.

prescribing bitter medicaments would be ruined. But this principle cannot be applied.<sup>1</sup>

77. What seems unsalutary is considered sometimes by the experts to be salutary ; a general rule and the exception are praised in all philosophical systems.

78. How could a man in full possession of his mental faculties abuse the Great Vehicle where it is stated that all results are preceded by compassion and purified by wisdom ?

79. Ignorant men, enemies of themselves as well as of others, on account of their bewilderment abuse to-day this Great Vehicle, being troubled by its extreme excellence and its extreme depth.

80. This Great Vehicle is composed of many virtues such as those of liberality, morality, patience, energy, meditation, wisdom, compassion ; how is it therefore possible that there is in it any wrong utterance ?

81. By liberality and morality one realizes the profit of others ; by patience and energy one's own profit ; meditation and wisdom are conducive to liberation. This is the summary of the contents of the Great Vehicle.

82. The teaching of Buddha is condensed in precepts which are salutary to others as well as to oneself and are conducive to liberation. They are included in the six perfections ; therefore this (Great Vehicle) is indeed the utterance of Buddha.

83. That Great Vehicle, in which the Buddhas have shown the great path leading to illumination and consisting in acquisition of moral merits and wisdom, is not seen (by common people) only on account of their ignorance.

84. In so far as he is possessed of inconceivable attributes, the Victorious One is said, in the Great Vehicle, to be endowed with inconceivable attributes like the ether (whose attributes

<sup>1</sup> On account of attachment to small pleasures one cannot miss greater pleasures. The objection here refuted is that sorrow is always sorrow and should therefore be given up.

transcend mind); therefore you must allow this majesty of the Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

85. Even as regards moral rules only, he remained a field inaccessible to the noble Śāradvatīputra; how can you not allow that the majesty of Buddha is inconceivable.<sup>2</sup>

86. According to the Great Vehicle unsubstantiality is considered as absence of birth, but for the other systems void is the destruction of things; destruction as well as non-birth can in fact be considered identical.<sup>3</sup>

87. How could, then, the other teachings of Mahāyāna be not acceptable to the wise, since they have realized according to reason the principle of unsubstantiality and the majesty of the Buddhas?

88. It is very difficult to know what the Buddhas have said in their metaphorical utterances, and therefore having recourse to impartiality you must protect yourself (against the different and contradictory wordings of the law as expounded) in the one Vehicle or in the three Vehicles.<sup>4</sup>

89. Impartiality is not cause of demerit; but (if you are partial as regards some principle and therefore) you hate (another), this is a cause of sin; how can that be propitious? Therefore those who seek their own welfare must not feel any hatred against the Great Vehicle.

90. In the Vehicle of the Auditors there is no mention of the vow of the Bodhisattva nor of his virtue of devolving upon others the fruits of his career. How is it, then, possible

<sup>1</sup> So, according to Tib.: *yon tan mk'a' ltar bsam yas pas*; but MS.: *punyatvād*.

<sup>2</sup> This greatness of the Buddha implies also that his revelation, viz. Mahāyāna, must be accepted.

<sup>3</sup> This means that unsubstantiality of things is not a novelty preached by Mahāyāna; it is also asserted by other schools (Hīnayāna). The only difference is that while for Hīnayāna it is *kṛtaka*, viz. the result of a destruction of something existent, for Mahāyāna this unsubstantiality is in fact non-production.

<sup>4</sup> The teaching of the Buddha being manifold, one must avoid dogmatism; there are, in fact, various degrees of revelation according to the different mental and moral fitness of individuals.

that one could become a Bodhisattva by following the precepts of that school ?

91. The Buddhas did not state in that Vehicle the blessings necessary in order to obtain the illumination of the Bodhisattva. Who else superior to the Victorious Ones can be an authority on this matter ?

92. From a path which is similar to that of the Auditors and implies in addition the blessings, the sense of the noble truths and the coefficients of illumination, how can a superior fruit of Buddhahood be derived ? <sup>1</sup>

93. In the *sūtras* there is no word designed to enjoin the career towards illumination, but this is said in the Great Vehicle, and therefore it should be accepted by the wise.

94. Just as a master of grammar teaches even the alphabet to disciples, even so the Buddha teaches the law as it may be accessible to those to be converted.<sup>2</sup>

95. The Buddha in fact preached to some the law so that they could be freed from sin, to others so that they could accomplish meritorious deeds, to others the law based on a duality.<sup>3</sup>

96. To some others he preached the law beyond duality, deep, terrifying those who are afraid (of such principles) <sup>4</sup>; to others again the law consisting in the two tenets of compassion and unsubstantiality, viz. the two means leading to illumination.

97. Therefore the good ones must destroy any feeling of opposition against the Great Vehicle and find their supreme spiritual peace in it if they want to attain to perfect illumination.

98. By having faith in the Great Vehicle and by following

<sup>1</sup> This criticism is directed against the Arhats as a stage superior to that of the Auditors.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. the teaching must be gradual according to the fitness of those to be converted. VV. 94-6 are quoted by Candra-kīrti P.P., p. 359, ll. 11 sqq.

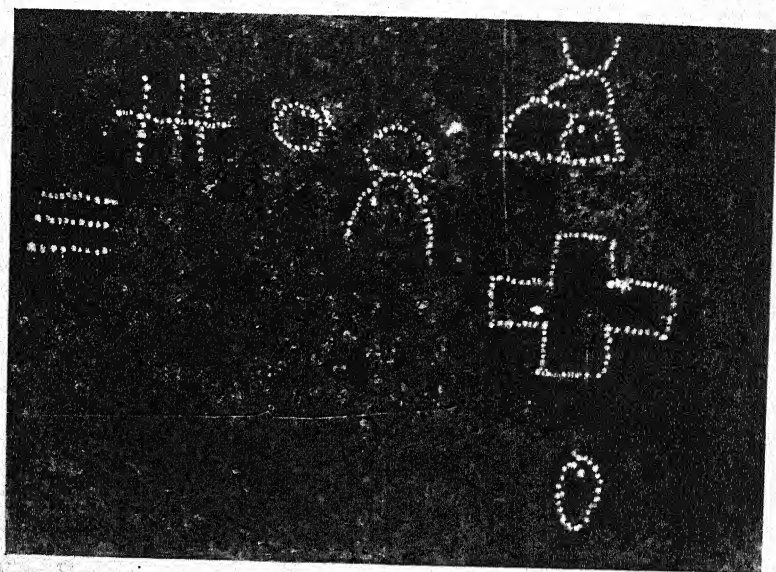
<sup>3</sup> One is freed from sin after he abstains from *ahiṃsā*; the result of meritorious deeds is rebirth among gods, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. the theory of unsubstantiality of things.

the precepts enjoined in it one attains to the supreme illumination and midway to all happiness.

99. Liberality, morality, patience, truthfulness, are said to be the religion chiefly for the householder ; the essence of this (religion) is compassion ; it must be taken hold of with great energy.

100. If you think that to rule a kingdom according to religion is difficult since world (and religion) are opposite, then, if you strive after glory in religion success will be easy.



(a)



(b)

SYMBOLS ON THE RAMPURWA COPPER BOLT

(a) Group of main symbols. (b) Group of minor symbols.

# Maurya Symbols

By K. P. JAYASWAL

(PLATES II-IV)

IN the course of my lecture on "Some Coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas", delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society in June, 1935, I emphasized two symbols found on the signed coins as being essentially Mauryan, namely, the "moon-on-hill"<sup>1</sup> and the hollow cross. What seems a clinching piece of evidence on the question has since become available to me from the **Rāmpurwā copper bolt of Aśoka**, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, through the kindness of my friend, Mr. Durga Prasad, who examined the bolt and found the marks. A rubbing of these on tissue paper given to him by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent in charge of the Archaeological Section of the Museum, is reproduced on Plate II. The symbols (written from right to left) are arranged in columns as below (Pl. II (a)) :—

- |               |                                              |
|---------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1st col. (in  | (1) "moon-on-hill" (the first dynastic       |
| perpendicular | symbol)                                      |
| order)        | (2) hollow cross (implying probably the      |
|               | <i>cāturanta</i> empire) <sup>2</sup>        |
|               | (3) an eye                                   |
| 2nd col.      | (4) the Brāhmī letter <i>m</i> , or "taurine |
|               | symbol"                                      |
| 3rd col.      | (5) a circle (denoting pillar)               |

<sup>1</sup> I may mention here that I have previously suggested that the three arches of the "hill" may be a combination of the Brāhmī letters *g* and *tt* (*gutta*, to be read with the sign of *candra* above). The arches may or may not represent a monogram; but the theory that *Candra* is meant seems at all events to be sound and beyond controversy, as we have the same crescent (without the arches) on the gold coins of Candragupta I, the Gupta, denoting the same name (Allan, *G.C.*, p. 9, pl. iii). I am making use of a non-controversial, neutral description: "moon (*candra*) [placed] on [a] hill."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Pāli *cāturanta-vijitāvī*, an emperor (*cakravartin*) having empire (country) up to the four ends (i.e. the whole of India). The inscription of Khāravēla contains the term in line 1.

- 4th col. (6) sketch of a capital, marking the position of the bolt
- 5th col. (7) the Brāhmī numeral 3

Marks (5), (6), and (7) are erection marks in the masonic language of Aśoka's artisans and engineers (*śilpa-lipi*).<sup>1</sup> This becomes evident from a comparison of these marks with those inscribed on the bottom of the Mauryan pillar at Kumhrār (see Plate III (a)),<sup>2</sup> where the eight circles furnish a partial plan indicating the situation of the pillar as the eighth in the third row (denoted by the Brāhmī numeral 3), which accords exactly with its position on Dr. Spooner's plan (*ASR.* 1912-13, p. 69, pl. xli). This opinion is based on that of a technical man, an engineer, to whom the explanation spontaneously suggested itself at first sight (*E.I.*, xxii, 3, n.).

Mark (6) indicates the position of the bolt between the capital and the shaft. Mark (7), i.e. the numeral 3, is difficult to explain; possibly this was the third pillar of a group intended for the locality: we have at Rāmpurwā two pillars still standing, and there might have been a third one. These pillars must have been made in the district of Mīrzāpur, where alone the stone of which they are fashioned is found, and thence transported to Champāran. In the circumstances such numbering would be necessary on the pillars and accessories.

On another side of the bolt there are much smaller figures, which are not very clear (see Plate II (b)). This group appears to show (reading from the left) a *svastika* and a pair of trees flanking a square object (indistinct); the group ends with a "hill". These occupy a very secondary position.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hirananda Sastri, P.T., 6th All-India Oriental Conference, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. B. Spooner, *ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. xlix; K. P. Jayaswal, *E.I.*, xxii, 3, n. Spooner's plate is slightly defective in that it shows only three arrow-mark indicators, instead of four; and the letters *thabbha* or *tha[m]bha* at the left-hand corner, *maury[y]a* (r. to l.) opposite the "moon-on-hill" symbol, and the *ū* sign to *mū* near the figure 3 have not come out clearly.

The prominent and important marks are those described above, the most conspicuous being the symbols (1) to (4). Of these (1) to (3) constitute one group. The first two recur on all the signed coins of the dynasty. The fourth is, if not invariably, very frequently there; on the cast coins found, about 1,000 in number, at the Maurya level, and higher, at Bulandibāgh, it is always found. It may be recalled here that the mark (4) is an inverted *m*, which is an archaic form met with on a Patna seal (Abhayavarman's, *JBORS.* x, 189) and at Bhattiprolu. It had gone out of use in writing in the time of Aśoka, but it seems to have lingered in the monumental artist's language. On all the cast coins we find it in the same inverted form; but in Aśoka's inscription at Dhauri<sup>1</sup> we have an ordinary Aśokan *m*, which Cunningham recognized as such. On Taxila coins bearing the Maurya marks we find it in the Aśokan scriptorial form (see Cunningham, *CAI.*, pl. ii, 8).<sup>2</sup>

**Comparison with Maurya Pottery Seals.**—The eye symbol (3) is met with on the punch-marked silver coins of Taregnā<sup>3</sup> in the Patna district (see Plate IV (e)), which must be regarded as a Maurya hoard by reason of the symbols on the coins. It is also found in a seal impressed on bowls evidently supplied to soldiers by the Maurya government; these were dug out by Dr. Spooner and Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh at Bulandibāgh; they were found along with swords, camels' bones, and parts of chariots, etc., among the palisades that had been manned by soldiers. Some specimens of this seal are illustrated in Plate IV.<sup>4</sup> They came from the Maurya

<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pl. opposite p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the Persian sigloi bearing *m* in Kharoṣṭhī (*JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 865, 875; we find there also Brāhmī *m* and *mo*, see Nos. 19 and 20) are countermarks of the Mauryas signifying validity (*Arthaśāstra*, ch. 32; also ch. 26). The *rūpadarśaka*, who validated coins, was stationed at the treasury (ch. 26), while the *lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*, the mint-master, had a different office.

<sup>3</sup> Taregnā hoard, coin n. 8301, Patna Museum.

<sup>4</sup> (a) pottery, 1916 Excavation, No. 10, depth 18 feet (Spooner); (b) pottery, 1923 Excavation, No. 262, depth 17 feet (Ghosh); (c) dagger blade, 1915

level. The seal group comprises four symbols, three of which are found on the bolt (see Plate II (a), 1st col., Nos. (1) to (3)). The fourth symbol on the seal reads *bi* in Brāhmī. This symbol by itself may be traced on two daggers recovered from 19 ft. 6 in. and 16 ft. levels (see Plate IV, (c), (d)), the earliest Maurya levels at Bulandībāgh. In the light of the *Arthaśāstra* direction (ch. 93; cf. also ch. 50) that equipment supplied to soldiers should be inscribed with the royal monogram, I take it to be the initial of Bindusāra.

With succeeding generations the marks on seals were changed. This is proved by the seal on an entire bowl<sup>1</sup> (reproduced in Plate III (b)), wherein the group consists of only two symbols, the "moon-on-hill" and the eye. The bowls found below Maurya level have only a lotus (*padma*, possibly indicating Padma Nanda?).<sup>2</sup> Private pottery found during the recent sewerage excavations at Patna (1935) does not bear any seal.

**Coins.**—I reproduce here (see Plate IV (f)) one specimen of the cast coins recovered from the earliest Maurya level at Bulandībāgh.<sup>3</sup> It bears identically the same marks as the coin found 15 inches below the Aśokan level at Sārnāth, i.e. below the ground level of the pillar and the Gandhakuṭi.<sup>4</sup> These coins bear the symbols (1), (2), and (3), while symbol (4) is found not only on the Taregnā coins, as already stated, but also on the Pāṭaliputra seals. All these four symbols, therefore, had evidently been used before Aśoka's day, i.e. they had come down from the time of Candragupta and Bindusāra.

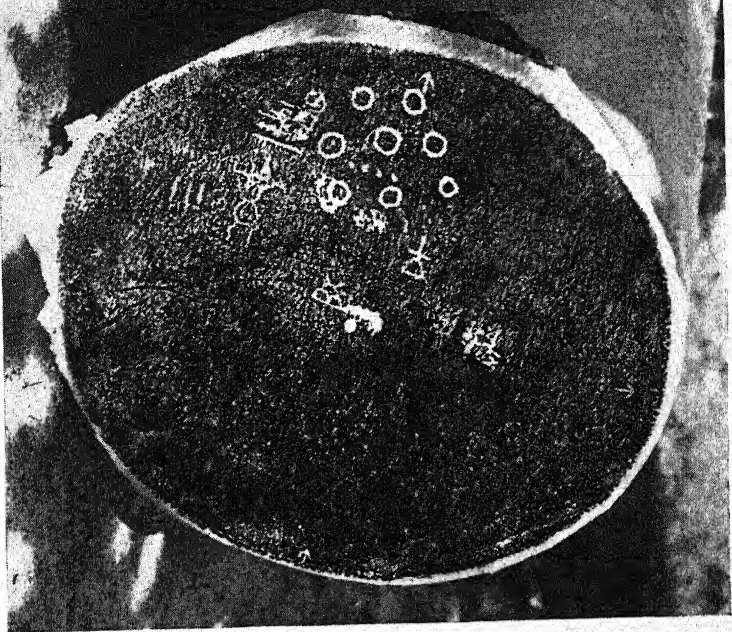
Excavation, No. 1, depth 19 ft. 6 in. (Spooners); (d) dagger blade, 1916 Excavation, No. 6, depth 19 feet (Spooners). These details of level are taken from the original excavation records now at the Patna Museum.

<sup>1</sup> 1927-8 Excavation, No. 51, depth 12 ft. 2 in. (Ghosh).

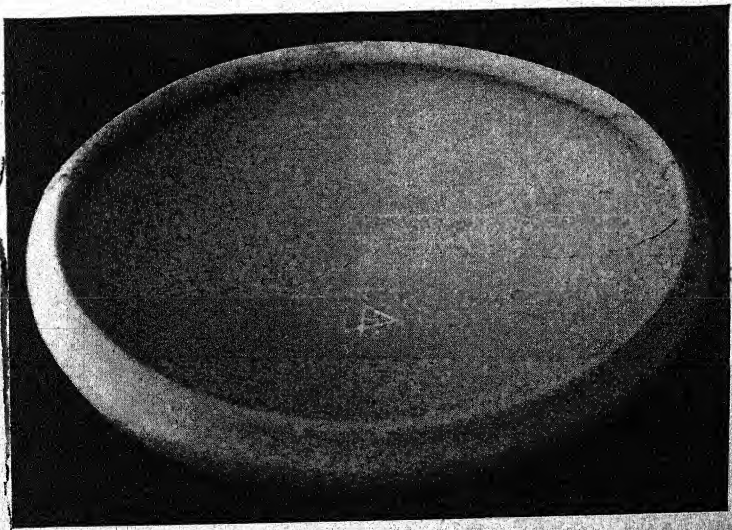
<sup>2</sup> The same lotus mark is found on the Golakhpur coins (*JBORS.* v, p. 72, pl. iv). It may be noted that none of the Golakhpur coins bears any Maurya symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Bulandībāgh, cast, copper, No. 231, of 1915-16, depth 21 feet.

<sup>4</sup> R. P. Chanda, *ASR.*, 1927-8, p. 95, pl. xxxvii, fig. 2. The additional symbols are the *svastika*, so prominent at Jaugaḍa, an elephant facing (that is, on) the standard, and a tree.

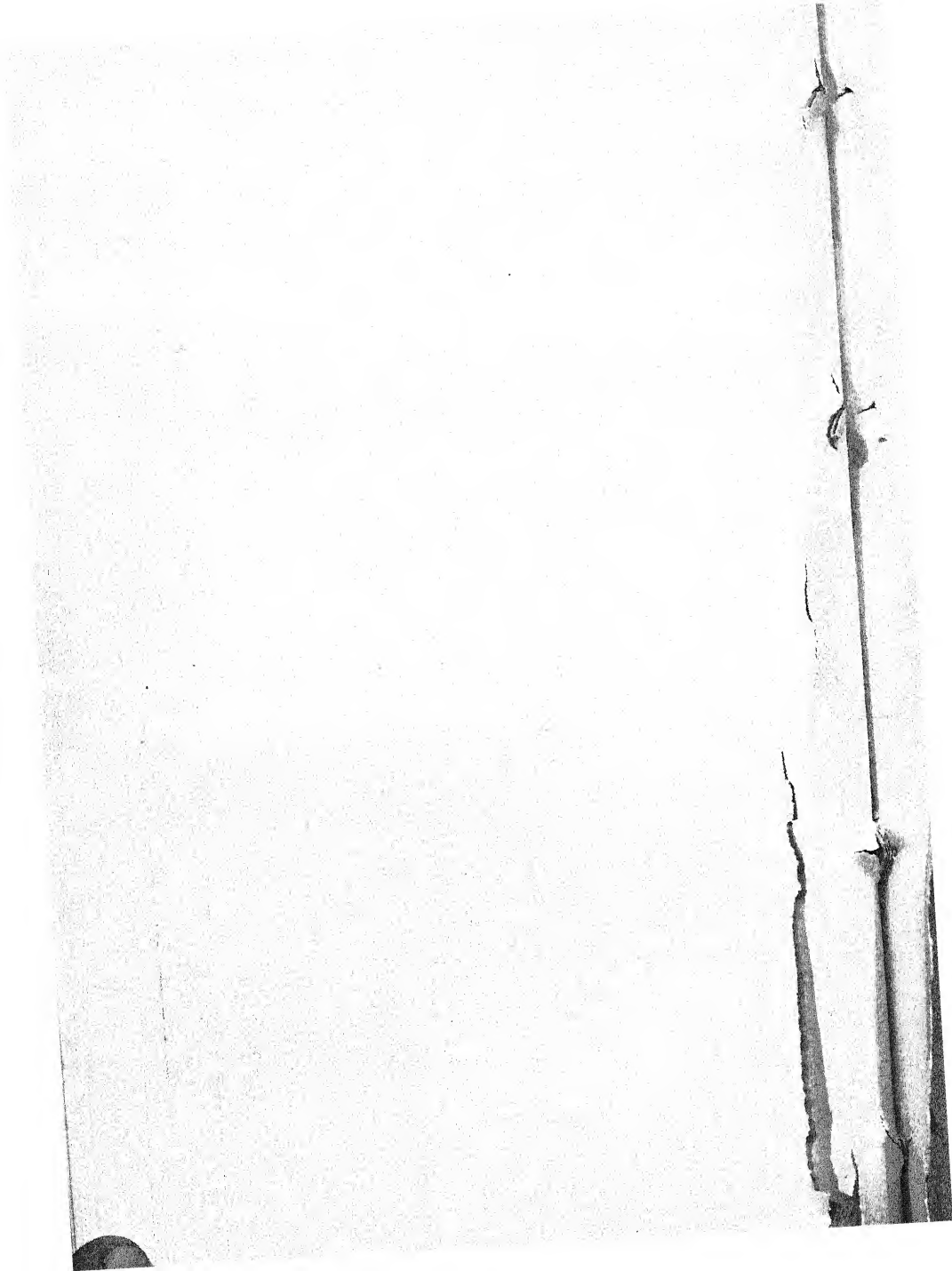


(a) BASE OF PILLAR FROM MAURYA HALL, KUMHRAR,  
with erection marks, royal monogram with *candra* and name "Maurya"



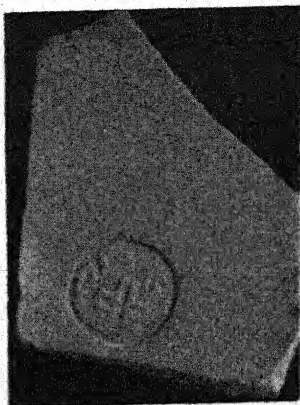
(b) POTTERY BOWL, MARKED WITH SEAL, FOUND AT BULANDIBAGH.

[To face p. 440.]





(a)



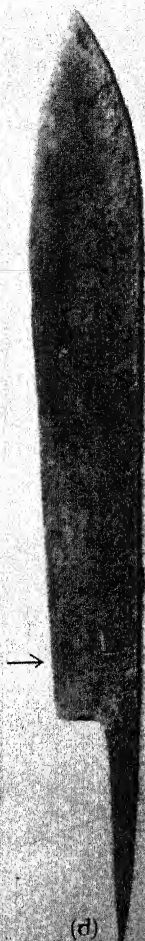
(b)



(f)



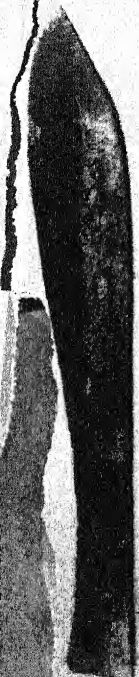
(g)



(d)



(e)



(c)

- (a) & (b) Seals on pottery from Bulandibagh.  
 (c) & (d) Daggers from earliest Maurya levels, Bulandibagh.  
 (e) Silver coin from Taregna, Patna district.  
 (f) Cast coin from Bulandibagh.  
 (g) *Pāṭali* tree growing in Patna Museum garden.

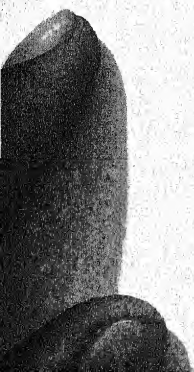


The cast coins of Patna bear a symbol of tree-leaves, which resemble those of the *pālali* tree<sup>1</sup> (see Plate IV (g)<sup>2</sup>), while all the other symbols except this are found on the Taxila coins. The tree thus seems to be a local, Māgadhan, symbol.

The identical symbols occurring on the Rāmpurwā bolt must be contemporaneous with Aśoka, since it could not have been engraved after it had been fixed in the capital of the column. Symbols (1) to (4) are the most conspicuous. Nos. (1), (2), and (3), which are grouped separately, appear to be government marks; their recurrence on the coins and in the seals on government pottery seems to leave no doubt as to their official character. No. (4), the *m* or "taurine symbol", which is inscribed separately, seems to have been an ancient symbol adopted by Maurya sovereigns as an official or semi-official mark.

<sup>1</sup> *Stereospermum suaveolens*, the *Bignonia suaveolens* of Roxburgh.

<sup>2</sup> Note particularly the pinnate form of the leaves at the end of the lowest branch on the right.



## Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese, and the Origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon.

By S. PARANAVITANA

**A**MONG the royal titles used by the early Sinhalese kings there are two which, as royal titles, were not adopted by any of the dynasties known to us in India, and were therefore peculiar to Ceylon. An investigation into the history of these two titles is likely to throw some light on the origin of kingship in ancient Ceylon, and I therefore propose in this paper to pursue this line of study so far as the material available at present allows us to do so. The conclusions at which I have arrived by a study of the available data on this may not, in the present state of our knowledge, be taken as definitely established; but they might, nevertheless, be worthy of consideration by scholars interested in the early history of the Sinhalese people.

Of these two titles the first that we shall take into consideration is *gāmaṇī*. In the chronicles, this title occurs as a part of the personal name of some of the kings belonging to the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the first Sinhalese king of whose name the title *gāmaṇī* formed a part was the celebrated Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* 101-77 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> the national hero of the Sinhalese people. Even before him, in times which were still semi-mythical, a prince called Dīgha-gāmaṇī, the father of Paṇḍukābhaya, is mentioned in the chronicles. After Duṭṭhagāmaṇī this title forms part of the names, as given in the chronicles, of Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* 44-17 B.C.), Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* A.D. 79-89), and Gaḍabāhuka-Gāmaṇī (*circa* A.D. 173-195). If we depend on the chronicles alone we have to take *gāmaṇī* as a personal name, in which

<sup>1</sup> The dates of kings given in this paper follow Dr. Wickremasinghe's Chronological Table, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. iii, pp. 1-47.

case even it is worth inquiring how such an unusual personal name, not found as such among the Āryans of India, came to be adopted in Ceylon. But from a study of the early inscriptions of the island it becomes quite evident that *gāmaṇī* was not a personal name, but a title; and that it was adopted by many more kings than those above mentioned, of whom it occurs as a personal name in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The inscriptions refer, so far as is now known, to Uttiya, Saddhā Tissa, Kuṭakappa Tissa, and several others by the title *gāmaṇī*; and it seems justifiable to hold that the title was used by many other kings as well. There are a number of inscriptions which refer to the reigning king by the title Gamaṇi Abaya alone, without any other particulars which enable us to identify him with any king mentioned in the chronicles.

The word *gāmaṇī* is the same as Skt. *grāmaṇī* and is found in inscriptions as *gamaṇi* or *gamiṇi*. *Grāmaṇī* means the leader of the *grāma*, the most familiar meaning of which is 'village', but which bears also the connotation of 'community', 'multitude', 'troop', etc. This meaning of the word was quite well-known to the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, for he explains that prince Gāmaṇi was so called because he was the lord of Mahāgāma. On the same reasoning, it may be explained that the Anurādhapura princes, who had this title or name, were so called because they were lords of Anurādhagāma.<sup>1</sup>

As Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was the first king who, according to the chronicles, had this title and as he came from Rohaṇa, Professor Wilhelm Geiger has come to the conclusion that the title itself originated among the Rohaṇa princes. In his article "Königsnamen in den Brahmi-Inschriften Ceylons"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anurādhapura was known to Ptolemy as Anurogrammon, i.e. Anurādhagāma. See McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> In *Festschrift für M. Winternitz zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1933, pp. 313-321.

he says: "Der Titel Gāmaṇi stammt sicher aus Rohaṇa und sein erster Trager war Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In eine ältere Zeit dürfen wir also keine Inschrift hinaufrücken, in der diese Bezeichnung vorkommt." Professor Geiger was quite justified in making this statement when he wrote the above mentioned article, but an inscription has since been discovered which makes it inaccurate. The record in question is from a cave at Mihintale<sup>1</sup> and refers to King Uttiya as Gamaṇi Uti Maharaja, thus proving that the title *gāmaṇi* was used by kings who reigned long before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. King Uttiya was the younger brother and successor of Devānampiya Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka; and he is the earliest king who can definitely be identified in the inscriptions of Ceylon. But there is no reason why some of the inscriptions mentioning a king called Gamaṇi Tisa, without giving any further details that would help us in identifying him, may not be attributed to Devānampiya Tissa. In any case, the title was used by the earliest king of whom we have contemporary records; and there is no reason to believe that he assumed it for the first time.

It was not by the princes of Anurādhapura and Māgama only that the title *gāmaṇi* was used. The inscriptions at Bōvattēgala show us that the title was also used by princes who ruled the south-eastern part of the island and who appear to be identical with the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.<sup>2</sup>

The word *grāmaṇi* occurs frequently in the Vedic literature. It is usually taken to mean 'the headman of the village'; but the *grāmaṇi*, in Vedic times, seems to have been a more important personage than the village headman is at present in India, and presumably had military functions to perform. In Pāli writings *gāmaṇi* not only means 'a headman', but is also used as the title of the leader of any kind of corporation,

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1933*, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, vol. ii, pp. 99 ff. and 175-6.

political, military, mercantile, etc.<sup>1</sup> In Vedic times and in the time of the redaction of the Pāli canon *grāmaṇī* (P. *gāmaṇī*) was essentially a Vaiśya title, and does not appear to have been ever borne by a Kṣatriya.<sup>2</sup>

In ancient Ceylon, too, the title does not seem to have been exclusively royal. A Brāhmī inscription, still unpublished, found in a cave near Nāvalār tank in the Pānama Pattu of the Eastern Province mentions a person named Paduma, who is given the title *Ati-acariya-gamaṇi*. The word *ati-acariya* is the same as the Pāli *hatthācariya*, and the person mentioned here must have been the head of a company of warriors who fought on elephant-back, or possibly a band of elephant-trainers. It is interesting to compare the expression *ati-acariya-gamaṇi* of the Ceylon inscription with *hatthāsoho gāmaṇī*<sup>3</sup> occurring in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and Buddhaghosa's interpretation of *gāmaṇī* as *hatthācariya*.<sup>4</sup>

The question may now be asked why the kings of Ceylon used this unpretentious title, never used by the kings of India, side by side with such appropriate royal epithets as *rājā*, *mahārājā*, *devānampiya*, etc. In my opinion the answer to this question is that the title was a legacy of the times when the forbears of the early kings of Ceylon ruled the island, or, at least, such parts of it as were then colonized, not as kings but as elected popular leaders of the community (*gāmaṇīs*).

<sup>1</sup> For *grāmaṇī* in Vedic literature see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 247; Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, s.v.; N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 88; R. C. Majumadar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 133, and Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 93. For *gāmaṇī* in Pāli literature, the following passages may be referred to: *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, Oldenberg's edition, vol. ii, pp. 296-7; *Anguttara Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iii, p. 76; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iv, pp. 305 ff.; *Thera Gāthā*, P.T.S. edition, p. 71; *Jātaka* (Fausboll's edition), iv, p. 351; vi, p. 579; ii, pp. 258 and 300.

<sup>2</sup> A king named *Gāmaṇī* is the hero of the *Gāmaṇī Jātaka* (*Jātaka*, i, p. 136). In the canonical verse of this *Jātaka*, however, there is nothing to show that *gāmaṇī* was the name of a king. It is only in the Commentary, written in Ceylon in the fifth century, that King *Gāmaṇī* is mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> P.T.S. edition, vol. iv, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Jātaka*, vol. v, p. 260.

But before developing this theme, it is necessary to dwell upon another title of the Sinhalese kings, the interpretation of which leads us to the same conclusion.

This is the title *maparumaka*, *mapurumuka*, or *mapurumu*, which first occurs in inscriptions in the third century A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and continues in use till the ninth century in the forms *mapurmukā* and *mapurum*.<sup>2</sup> The title has not so far been found in an inscription earlier than the third century, and it does not occur at all in the chronicles. This title, it is evident, is a corruption of *mahaparumaka* (Skt. *mahā-pramukha*, P. *mahāpamukha* or *mahā-pāmokkha*). Though *mahaparumaka* itself does not occur in the earliest inscriptions, the epithet *parumaka* is found very frequently in them, but not as a royal title. It is rather strange that when the royal title *mapurumuka* first occurs in the inscriptions the title *parumaka* is no longer found in them.

The difference in meaning between these two titles is one of degree only, the royal title having *maha* (great) prefixed to the less pretentious one. Therefore it is necessary for us to find out what exactly is the significance of the title *parumaka*. There can be hardly any doubt that this word is the same as the Sanskrit *pramukha* and the Pāli *pamukha* or *pāmokkha*.<sup>3</sup> The Pāli word *pamukha* is often used to denote the president of a guild or corporation (*śreṇi*)<sup>4</sup>; and some of the *parumakas* met with in early inscriptions might have been the heads of such bodies, particularly in view of the fact that the existence in early Ceylon of such corporate bodies is attested by the Brāhmī inscriptions. The Pāli word *pāmokkha* is also used to denote the president or leader of a corporation (*gaṇa-pāmokkha*).

<sup>1</sup> See *A.S.C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See *E.Z.*, vol. i, pp. 25 and 38.

<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested that *parumaka* is derived from Tamil *perumakan*. This is hardly likely. If there is any connection between the two words, it appears to be from the fact that the Tamil word itself is derived from the Skt. *pramukha*.

<sup>4</sup> Radhakumud Mukherjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 47.

There is also evidence in Pāli literature to show that *pāmokkha* was the title given to the nobles who formed the aristocratic republics which existed in North India in the Buddha's time. In the *Vessantara Jātaka* the word *pāmokkha*, occurring in the passage *taṃ disvā Cetapāmokkhā rodamānā upāgamum*,<sup>1</sup> is explained by the commentator as *rājāno*, 'kings' (*Cetapamokkhā ti Cetarājāno*). In the course of the narrative it is stated that in the tribe of the Cetas there were 60,000 such *pāmokkhas*. As it is absurd to believe that there were so many 'kings' in one single tribe, we must interpret this word in the same manner as the epithet *rājā* applied to the Licchavis is explained. It is said that there were 7,707 *rājās* at one and the same time among the Licchavis, and it is now agreed by all scholars that these *rājās* were not 'kings' in the usual sense of the word, but members of the republican assembly which ruled that tribe.<sup>2</sup> The *pāmokkhas* among the Cetas must have also been similar. The numbers in both instances are certainly much exaggerated.

The old Sinhalese *parumaka* being the same as the Pāli *pāmokkha*, it is, I think, not unreasonable to assume that the persons called *parumakas* in ancient Ceylon were of the same status as the *pāmokkhas* among the Cetas and other republican tribes of ancient India. If this be so the title *maparumaka* and its variants, used by the ancient kings of Ceylon, may be taken as pointing to a time when a republican form of government prevailed in the island. Such a form of government might not have prevailed in the times when the Brāhmi inscriptions containing the title were indited. But it is a well-known fact that names and titles survive the forms of government with which they were originally associated.

From the evidence supplied by the many hundreds of Brāhmi inscriptions in Ceylon it appears that the number of persons in Ceylon who held the title *parumaka* must have been very large. There were probably many hundreds of them at the

<sup>1</sup> *Jātaka*, vi, p. 515.

<sup>2</sup> See B. C. Law, *Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 85.

same time. In social status the *parumakas* seem to have been only one degree removed from that of the king. An inscription,<sup>1</sup> found in a cave at Sāssēruva in the Kurunāgala District, informs us that a *parumaka* named Rakaraki was the husband of a princess who was the daughter of a king named Devanapiya Gamaṇi Abaya, identified by Mr. Bell with Vaṭṭa Gāmaṇi Abhaya. It appears, therefore, that the relation of the king to the *parumakas* was nothing more than *primus inter pares*. In later times, when the doctrine of the divinity of kings had been fully developed in Ceylon, the giving in marriage of a royal princess to one who was not of royal blood, however exalted though he might have been in rank, was unthinkable. All the evidence so far given goes to prove that in the age of the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, memories and practices were prevalent of a time when there existed forms of government other than monarchical.

The hypothesis that we have put forward, namely that the earliest rulers of Ceylon were not kings, but were popularly elected leaders called *gāmaṇīs*, seems to gain support from a statement in the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, which also further enables us to guess as to who was the first ruler in Ceylon to assume kingly honours. The commentator, after his explanation of verses 25-33 of chapter xi of the chronicle, which give a list of the various things sent by Aśoka for the consecration of Devānampiya Tissa, gives an interesting account of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony in Ceylon, and in the course of his explanatory remarks occurs the following significant passage :

*Imasmim pana dīpe Devānampiya Tissassa muddhami Dhammāsoken'eva idha pesitā khattiyakumārī yeva Anotatto-dakapunnēna sāmuddrikadakkhiṇāvattasamkkena abhiseko-dakam abhisiñcī ti veditabbam. Tate pubbe pana idisam abhisekagahaṇam nāma natthi. Kevalam navayattihīyā eva rajjam karimsu. Pacehā pana Devānampiya Tisse rājā attano sahāyassa Dhammāsokarañño ito rathapatodayattihādāyo*

<sup>1</sup> See Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 444, where, however, that portion of the inscription containing the name of the princess's husband is omitted.

*mahārahe paṇṇākāre pesesi. So pi to disvā pasīditvā ativiya tuttho "imehi atirekatarām kiṃ nāma mahaggham paṭi-paṇṇākāraṃ sahāyassa me pesissāmā" ti amaccehi saddhiṃ mantetvā Laṃkādiṭṭe abhisekaparihāraṃ pucchitvā "Na aññaṃ abhisekaparihāraṃ nāma atthi, kevalaṃ navayaṭṭhiyā eva kira so rajjaṃ kāretī" 'ti sutvā "Sādhu vata me sahāyassa abhisekaparihāraṃ pesissāmā" 'ti vatvā sāmuddikasaṃkhādīni tīni saṃkhāni Gaṅgodakaṇ ca aruṇavaṇṇa-mattikaṇ ca atṭhatṭha khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatikaññāyo ca atṭhatṭham eva suvaṇṇa-sajjhulohamattikāmayaghaṭe ca atṭhahi khattiyakulehi saddhiṃ atṭha amaccakulāni cā ti evaṃ sabbatṭhakaṃ nāma idha pesesi "Imehi me sahāyassa abhisekaṃ karoṭhā" ti. Te paṭipāṭiya bhatapaṇṇākāraṃ idha āharitvā vuttanayena abhisiñciṃsu.<sup>1</sup>*

"It should be known that in this island, a Khattiya maiden sent by Dhammāsoka poured the lustral water on the head of Devānampiya Tissa from a right-spiralled chank produced in the sea, and filled with water from the (lake) Anotatta. Before that there was no such receiving of the unction. They wielded the sovereignty merely by (the authority of) a new staff. Later, however, King Devānampiya Tissa sent from here costly presents such as the chariot-goad-staff to his friend, King Dhammāsoka. He (Dhammāsoka), having seen those presents, was highly pleased; and, thinking, 'What return presents of greater value than these shall I send to my friend,' took counsel with his ministers and inquired after the consecration ceremonies in the island of Laṅkā. He heard that there was no consecration ceremony there, but that he (Devānampiya Tissa) rules merely by (the authority of) a new staff. He then said: 'Well, then, I shall send to my friend the objects necessary for the consecration,' and sent here three chanks, including a chank produced in the sea, water from the Ganges, ruddy coloured mud, eight each of Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, and Gahapati virgins, eight each of gold, silver, bronze, and earthen pots, eight Khattiya

<sup>1</sup> *Vamsatthappakāsenī*, commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, P.T.S. edition, vol. i, p. 306.

families, eight families of ministers—thus including eight of everything (necessary for consecration)—saying: ‘Perform the anointing of my friend with these.’ They (the envoys) in due course came here with the presents and anointed (Tissa) as aforesaid.”

The commentator says that the details regarding the *abhiṣeka* ceremony given here are taken from the commentary to the *Cūḷa Sihanāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in the *Sīhalatthakathā* (the old Sinhalese commentary of the Pāli canon).<sup>1</sup> Thus it would be seen that the passage quoted above, though occurring in a work of comparatively late date, preserves a very old tradition—older than the *Mahāvamsa* narrative—and is worthy of credence.

From the above it becomes clear that before Devānampiya Tissa, the rulers of Ceylon did not have the *abhiṣeka* ceremony performed on them. And, according to Indian belief, it is impossible to think of a king who is not consecrated by the *abhiṣeka*, which is a necessary rite before a prince is acknowledged as sovereign. The Vedic and Purāṇic literatures give elaborate details of the ceremonies which have to be performed on the *abhiṣeka* of a king.<sup>2</sup> In the Pāli canon the expression *rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa* (of the Kṣatriya king, anointed on the head) is one of frequent occurrence,<sup>3</sup> and the commentators have supplied us with interesting details regarding this ceremony. The later Sinhalese inscriptions, in referring to kings and queens, are particular to mention the fact of their consecration.<sup>4</sup> The only

<sup>1</sup> In the *Cūḷa Sihanāda Sutta*, occurring in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (P.T.S. edition, vol. i, pp. 63–8) there is nothing in the contents which would reasonably have given a commentator the justification for inserting, in his comments, a long account of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of Devānampiya Tissa and other historical details. But the author of the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā* also says in another place (P.T.S. edition, p. 193) that the details he gives about Aśoka’s birth and childhood were taken from the same source, and it is evident that the old Sinhalese commentary of this *Sutta* contained legends concerning Devānampiya Tissa and Aśoka.

<sup>2</sup> See N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 193–4 and 200–3.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *Dīgha Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iii, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> See *EZ.*, vol. i, pp. 225 and 237, and vol. iii, p. 300.

reasonable conclusion possible from the evidence that we have so far examined is that, before Devānampiya Tissa, the rulers of Ceylon were not kings, but were leaders of the community deriving their authority from popular sanction. It is quite possible that the title by which they were known was *gāmanī* ('leader' or 'chief').

The *Mahāvamsa*, of course, mentions the *abhiṣeka* of Ceylon rulers earlier than Devānampiya Tissa, for instance, of Vijaya and Paṇḍukābhaya. It is, however, a moot point how much of really historical matter there is in this chronicle before the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. Even granting that the rulers mentioned earlier than Tissa were historical, the chronicler's referring to them in terms appropriate to royalty can easily be explained. The author of the *Mahāvamsa* lived at a time when the only form of government familiar to the people was the monarchical; and whenever a ruler is mentioned it was natural to assume that he was a king and to attribute to him all the paraphernalia of royalty. Thus a ruler must start his period of power by the *abhiṣeka*. We have, moreover, shown that the passage quoted above from the *ṭīkā* possesses even greater authority than the *Mahāvamsa* itself.

According to the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, it was reported to Aśoka by the Sinhalese envoys that Tissa and, by inference, also his predecessors, ruled by the authority of a new staff. This work, however, does not inform us how the "new staff" was assumed by the aspirant to the sovereign power, or whether there were any ceremonies connected with this assumption of office. The *Mahāvamsa* itself has a reference, though not explicit, to the staff which, it seems, was the symbol of authority of the rulers of Ceylon before Tissa, for the first time, assumed regal honours. In recounting the miracles which appeared on the accession of Tissa the chronicle says:—

*Chātapabbatapādamhi tisso ca veḷuyatthiyo*

*Jātā rathapatodena samānā parimāṇato.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, chap. xi, v. 10.

Professor Geiger translates this verse as "At the foot of the Chāta mountain there grew up three bamboo stems, in girth even as a wagon pole".<sup>1</sup> The word *yatthi* is here rendered into English by "stem" and *rathapatoda* by "wagon pole". In the case of the second word Professor Geiger, in a footnote, remarks that "wagon-pole" "must be the meaning of *rathapatoda*", although *patoda* properly means "goad" or "whip". The learned professor's rendering of this verse is not in keeping with its traditional interpretation among the Sinhalese scholars, as will be seen from the passage in the *Saddharmamālankāra*,<sup>2</sup> a Sinhalese treatise of the fourteenth century, recounting the happening described in the above verse. It reads: *Sīgiri-prāntayehi ek huna-paṇḍureka rathakāviti pamaṇavū hunadaṇḍu tunek upaṇa* "In a bamboo grove near the Sīgiri mountain there appeared three bamboo sticks of the size of cart-goads". The word *kāviti*, which means 'goad' in Sinhalese, is here the equivalent of *patoda*, and what is meant in the Pāli verse by this word must have been the same. If we therefore interpret the above verse in the way it has been understood by Sinhalese scholars of the fourteenth century, the three *yatthis*<sup>3</sup> which miraculously appeared in the beginning of Devānampiya Tissa's reign were not so large as wagon poles, but were of the size of a charioteer's goad, i.e. they could conveniently have been held in the hand. The *yatthi* would thus seem to be no more than the staff or sceptre which, according to the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, was the symbol of sovereignty in Ceylon before Tissa's *abhiṣeka*. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, these three rods

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., translation, p. 78. Professor Geiger has later adopted Dr. B. C. Law's interpretation of *yatthi* (see note 3 below) and has amended his translation accordingly. See *Cūḷavamsa*, translation, vol. ii, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Colombo edition of 1924, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. B. C. Law (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. vi, p. 571) interprets *yatthi* as meaning "necklace", as the Sanskrit *yasthi* occurs with that meaning in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya. The whole trend of the *Mahāvamsa* narrative is, however, against the interpretation suggested by Dr. Law. The rendering, according to this interpretation, of the compound *velu-yatthi* by "bamboo-necklace" does not give much sense.

contained magical qualities, and one was an improvement on the famous rod of Aaron. We may conjecture that at that early age, when a chief assumed the sovereign power of the state, those interested saw to it that the wonder-working rods of authority duly appeared to overawe a credulous multitude.

The *Mahāvamsa-tīkā* speaks of only one *yattīhi* as the staff of authority, whereas the chronicle says that three of them appeared to mark Tissa's accession to power. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy. If at this early age, as in later times, there were three divisions of the island, the three rods might have signified the overlordship of the three different states. But there is no evidence to show that the division of the island into three parts dates from such an early time. However, it is interesting to note in this connection that the *Mahābodhivamsa*<sup>1</sup> mentions three royal parasols of Tissa, named respectively Andha, Coḷa, and Sihaḷa.

According to Indian usage it is a favourite simile to compare leaders of men to charioteers, or to use laudatory epithets connected with chariots. One of the epithets of the Buddha is *sārathi*, 'charioteer', and some of the mythical kings of India bore such names as Bṛhadratha, Daśaratha, etc. In one place the *Mahāvamsa*,<sup>2</sup> in praising a king, calls him *Sīhaḷānam rathesabho* (the chariot-bull of the Sihalas). Therefore it is quite appropriate that the symbol of power in ancient Ceylon was a bamboo rod in shape like a charioteer's goad, and supposed to possess miraculous powers.

According to the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, Aśoka, on his own initiative, inquired after the *abhiṣeka* ceremonies prevailing in Ceylon and, learning that there was no such thing as an *abhiṣeka* in this island, sent all the requisites to perform the function according to Mauryan ritual. But the narrative, both in the chronicle as well as in the commentary, contains certain features which are somewhat puzzling. It is said in the *Mahāvamsa* that Tissa, after his father's death, was duly

<sup>1</sup> P.T.S. edition, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. 49, v. 38.

anointed and became king; and with this event occurred the miraculous appearance of the three 'rods' and other treasures. Soon after this Tissa sends an embassy to Áśoka bearing costly presents, among which were included the miraculous rods. Áśoka, having received these presents, consulted his ministers as to what return gifts of greater value he could send to Tissa, and gave to the Sinhalese envoys, not only everything necessary for a king's *abhiṣeka*, not omitting even the minute details as, for instance, earthen vessels, but also all the paraphernalia of a king. The envoys returned to the island with these articles, and performed the second *abhiṣeka* of Tissa amidst great rejoicings. The *ṭikā*, however, adds the information that there was no *abhiṣeka* in the island prior to this event, and, therefore, what is called Tissa's second *abhiṣeka* in the *Mahāvamsa* was really his only *abhiṣeka*. Áśoka and Tissa are said to have been friends of equal status, though, of course, the superior might and glory of the former is acknowledged. The envoys and presents sent by the Sinhalese ruler and the return presents from the Indian emperor appear in the narrative as mere exchanges of courtesies.

Now it is a most unusual proceeding for a king, when he receives presents from a brother sovereign, to inquire after the details of the latter's consecration and send, as return gifts, the things necessary for this function. It is still more unusual for the latter to receive the royal paraphernalia at the former's hands and to get himself consecrated. The strangeness of the events as detailed in the *Mahāvamsa* has not failed to strike the attention of students of Ceylon history, and Mr. Codrington<sup>1</sup> thinks that Tissa sought confirmation of his sovereignty from Áśoka on account of the commanding position of the latter in India, and also quotes and elaborates Mr. A. M. Hocart's opinion that it may have been due to family connections. These hypotheses, however, do not explain all the unusual features of the story. The strangeness of the

<sup>1</sup> *A Short History of Ceylon*, London, 1929, pp. 12 and 16.

proceedings, however, disappears altogether if we, relying on the evidence supplied by the commentary and the conclusions arrived at by a study of the royal titles occurring in the inscriptions, assume that the real purpose of the mission sent by Tissa, who till then had not enjoyed the status of a king, was to solicit, from the Maurya emperor, investiture with royal honours and titles.

It is quite possible that the omission of this fact in the chronicles written by the monks was deliberate, in order not to detract from the greatness of the king who established Buddhism as the state religion in the island. On the other hand, it might also have occurred owing to a misunderstanding of the course of events on the part of the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. As I have mentioned already, he lived at a time when the only familiar form of government was the monarchical, and it was natural for him to assume that Tissa's accession to power must necessarily have been with the *abhiṣeka*. The details of Tissa's *abhiṣeka* by Aśoka's envoys were too strongly established in tradition to be passed over, and he duly chronicled them without pausing to consider the fact that these are not in harmony with his earlier statement of an *abhiṣeka* of Tissa at his accession to power. The statement in the *Sīhalatthakathā*, preserved for us by the commentator, must, however, have been known to Mahānāma, and it is rather strange that he did not take any notice of it.

The hypothesis that the institution of kingship was introduced to Ceylon by the Emperor Aśoka gains support from the fact that the Mauryan royal title, *devānampiya* ('beloved of the gods'), was assumed by Tissa and was used, as evidenced by the inscriptions, by many of his successors for about two hundred years later. This title, which has been explained by later Brāhmanical writers to mean 'a fool',<sup>1</sup> was distinctive of the Mauryas; and is not known to have been adopted by kings belonging to any other dynasty in India. It appears that when Aśoka conferred the dignity of

<sup>1</sup> Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xxix.

a king upon Tissa he also permitted the latter to use the title by which he always refers to himself in his own inscriptions.

If the origin of kingship in early Ceylon was such as we have surmised above, the claims of the royal family to belong to the Kṣatriya caste can very well be doubted. The title *grāmaṇī* in Vedic times was distinctive of the Vaiśyas and, in the India of the early Buddhist period, too, there is no reliable evidence that it was ever held by a Kṣatriya. The genealogies found in the early legends, of course, connect Tissa on the one hand with the Śakyas and on the other with the Kṣatriyas of Kalinga and Vaṅga. But the early legends contain so much of popular folk-tale elements, common to many peoples, that no sober student of history would accept them as embodying a genuine historical tradition. The genealogies might very well have been invented, at the time when the kings of Ceylon were firmly established as absolute monarchs, by some court panegyrist who wanted to win their favour by flattering their vanity. Such invented genealogies connecting kings of plebeian origin with one or other of the two mythical dynasties of the Sun and Moon are familiar enough to students of Indian history. In this connection it is noteworthy that in the version of the *Siṃhaḷa* legend found in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna*<sup>1</sup>—a work earlier in date than the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon<sup>2</sup>—the eponymous hero of the Sinhalese people was the son of a merchant, and not, as in the *Mahāvamsa*, a king's son. He came to the island as the leader of a band of merchants and might have borne the title *gāmaṇī*, as did the chief of a company of merchants mentioned in the *Mahāvāṇija Jātaka*.<sup>3</sup> This adds further support to the theory that the kings of Ceylon were of popular origin. It seems probable that the *Divyāvadāna* has preserved a version of the account of the colonization of Ceylon by the North Indian Aryans, which

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Cowell and Neil, pp. 523–8.

<sup>2</sup> Winternitz ascribes this work to about the third century of the Christian era. See *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Band ii, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātaka*, iv, p. 351.

is closer to actual facts than is that preserved in the Ceylon chronicles. It is easy to imagine how the stories could have been modified in this island in such a manner as to give more prestige to the royal line with whose origin they are concerned.

The conclusions that we have arrived at receive some measure of support from an account of the status of the king in ancient Ceylon given by Solinus Polyhistor, a Roman writer who flourished in the first century A.D. He says : "In the election of their king noble birth did not avail, for the people chose him who was most gentle and discreet and without children. A father was never elevated under any circumstances, and should he become one after his election he was deposed. The sovereignty was strictly elective and not hereditary. Moreover, though the monarch had ever so great a regard for justice, he was never permitted singly to dispense it, but in all matters of life and death was assisted by a council of forty, and there was finally a court of appeal presided over by seventy judges."<sup>1</sup> This account should not, of course, be taken as literally true. The Roman writer does not seem to have ever visited this island, and his information must have been received through several intermediaries, in which process the actual facts must have been distorted ; or he may have misunderstood his informant. The injunction which, according to him, was enforced on the king against fatherhood must have originated from confusion in the mind of the Roman writer between what he heard about the king and what was related to him of the heads of the Buddhist Church. Nevertheless, his statements about the king in ancient Ceylon being elected and about the limitation of the sovereign's powers were possibly due to the reminiscence, on the part of his informant, of the times when the island was governed by a popularly elected leader called *gāmaṇī*.

From the evidence we have so far given we are perhaps justified in making the following conjectures as to the course of events which ended in the establishment of a monarchy

<sup>1</sup> Pridham, *Ceylon and its Dependencies*, vol. i, p. 8.

in Ceylon. The colonization of the island was probably not effected so suddenly nor under such romantic circumstances as the Pāli chronicles would have us believe. The immigrants to the island were probably not led by the scion of a royal house of India, but, as we may conclude from the story given in the *Divyāvadāna*, by adventurous merchants who, in all ages and climes, were the pioneers in exploring new lands. There was almost certainly more than one stream of immigrants, probably not from the same quarter; and each must have had its own leader. We learn from the Pāli writings that in the Buddha's time merchants of North India travelled in ships to distant lands in search of wealth, and some of these bold mariners must certainly have been attracted to this island by the pearls which were found on its north-western littoral and the precious stones which the interior of the island yielded. In course of time some of these adventurers must have noticed the fertility of the island's soil, and must have settled down in order to supply the valued merchandise to their compatriots who periodically visited its shores. As these settlements spread and increased they must have felt the necessity of some form of government and, in the circumstances in which they were placed, the most natural form of government must have been to elect one of their number as the magistrate of each settlement. It is also probable that some at least of the immigrants came from such parts of India as were under republican forms of government, for the existence of which, at the very time when Ceylon was gradually coming into the Aryan pale, we have ample evidence in Pāli literature as well as in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and other sources.<sup>1</sup> It is probably the descendants of the leaders of the various settlements who are called *parumakas* in the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions. As time went on these various settlements must certainly have felt the necessity of a common leader, not only for defending themselves against possible aggression from outside, but also for internal tranquillity.

<sup>1</sup> See N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 2 et seq.

The chief of one of the more important among the settlements must accordingly have been acknowledged by the others as the commander in times of war and as the chief magistrate in times of peace, and he was probably given the title *gāmaṇī* (leader). There was probably more than one such *gāmaṇī* in the island. In fact the Brāhmi inscriptions at Bōvattegala, which we have already referred to, mention a *gāmaṇī* who was not connected with the ruling family at Anurādhapura and whose grandson is given the royal title *rājā*. It is also probable that this common leader was also called *mahaparumaka* (great chief), though the title itself has not yet been found in the earliest inscriptions.

There was nothing to prevent the election of a deceased *gāmaṇī*'s son to succeed his father, if he possessed the necessary qualities for leadership. The hereditary principle would thus be gradually established in the succession to the post of the chief magistrate of the state; and the leaders (*gāmaṇīs*, as we may style them) must have possessed powers equal to those of a king. But the pomp and paraphernalia associated with kingship were probably absent, and they could not have enjoyed that semi-divine veneration which the *abhiṣeka* is supposed to confer on a prince. In these circumstances it is but natural for a *gāmaṇī* to have cherished the ambition of assuming regal honours; but for some reason or other this could not be done without outside aid. Possibly the people of Ceylon were then not familiar with the ceremonial of a king's court, or perhaps the ambition of one *gāmaṇī* was not looked upon with favour by others of a similar status who could not be ignored. We may presume that this was the state of affairs when Tissa assumed the reins of government at Anurādhapura by investiture with the miraculous staff. He must have heard of the great emperor Aśoka, and probably the idea occurred to him to ask that potentate's aid to realize his ambition of becoming king. If the mighty Aśoka regarded his proposal with favour, any possible objections among his own people to the course he was going to adopt would

certainly have been silenced. Accordingly an embassy bearing costly presents was sent to the Mauryan emperor, whose energies were then being directed to the propagation of the new faith he had embraced. Aśoka must have seen in this a very good opportunity of adding another land to those he had brought within the ambit of the *dhamma*, and he seems to have readily granted Tissa's request and, in addition, sent all the requisites for performing the *abhiṣeka* ceremony. Moreover, he seems to have permitted Tissa to use his own royal title. The consideration that Tissa's request for investiture was virtually acknowledging his suzerainty must have also weighed with Aśoka in making his decision. The missionaries sent by Aśoka to propagate the *dhamma* closely followed the footsteps of the envoys sent to anoint Tissa, and the Sinhalese king (by which title we can now refer to Tissa) gave these spiritual messengers as enthusiastic a welcome as he had previously accorded to those who had come to elevate him in his worldly position. If the course of events was such as we have conjectured, the reign of Tissa marks an epoch not only in the religious, but also in the political history of the island; and it also appears that the readiness with which Tissa and his people accepted the teachings of the missionaries sent by Aśoka was not solely due to the excellence of the doctrines which they preached.

Henceforth the rulers of Ceylon were referred to as *rājā* and *mahārājā*; and they also used the Mauryan title of *devānampiya*. But the old title *gāmaṇī* was not at once discarded. It was used side by side with the more pretentious titles, witness, for instance, the name Devanapiya-maharaja Gamiṇi Tisa,<sup>1</sup> by which Saddhā Tissa is referred to in inscriptions. So far as is known at present, the last ruler who used this title was Gajabāhu I (*circa* A.D. 173-195), who is referred to in inscriptions as Gayabahuka Gamiṇi Abaya or

<sup>1</sup> See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, pp. 142 and 144.

Gaṃiṇi Abaya alone.<sup>1</sup> After his reign the title seems to have gone out of use, and by the time the chronicles were written its significance had been forgotten and it was considered a personal name. The title *devanapiya*<sup>2</sup> had become obsolete even earlier, and the chroniclers know it only in connection with Tissa. The *parumakas* had also disappeared, their places being taken by *ameti* (Skt. *amātya*) 'ministers' in the records of about the second century A.D. The passing away of the order of *parumakas* probably marked the time of the consolidation of monarchical institutions and the disappearance of the last traces of the earlier popular forms of government.

<sup>1</sup> See Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 109, and *Epigraphica Zeylanica*, vol. iii, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> The last king, so far as is known, who used this title was Kuṭakappa-Tissa (*circa* 17-39 A.D.). According to Dr. Wickremasinghe, the title was used as late as the reign of Mahallaka-Nāga (196-202 A.D.), but this view is due to the wrong identification of the kings mentioned in the Maharatmalē inscription (see *E.Z.*, vol. iii, pp. 156-7).

## Notes on Professor Karlgren's System for Dating Chinese Bronzes

By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL

THE pre-Confucian period has come, during the last decade, to occupy a central place in the attention of students of the history of Chinese culture. Research on the oracle bones, scientific excavations at Anyang and elsewhere, and other investigations and discoveries have not served merely to throw light on the civilization of late Shang and early Chou times. They have also shown us that those periods saw the laying of the foundations of the whole structure of Chinese culture, as it has persisted even to our own day, so that to understand them is no mere concern of antiquarians, but a vital necessity for any deep understanding of the currents of Chinese history.

The student of those times has few materials more important than the bronzes. They are our best remaining examples of craftsmanship. The decoration of the best of them approaches, if it does not attain, the level of a fine art; we might expect, therefore, that it would mirror cultural and intellectual conditions with a considerable degree of sensitivity. The religious function of sacrificial vessels connects them with one of the most important aspects of the life of the time. And the inscriptions found on many bronzes constitute, aside from the bone inscriptions, almost our sole contemporary documents from the late Shang and early Chou periods.<sup>1</sup>

The use of bronzes as historical material depends, obviously, upon our ability to date them. The more accurately and the more narrowly they can be placed, at least within a system of relative chronology, the more extensively and effectively can

<sup>1</sup> By "contemporary documents" I mean documents physically preserved from that day to this, rather than merely transmitted as to content. In my opinion, while we have many transmitted books from early Chou times, none of the transmitted books sometimes attributed to the Shang period (as for instance the *P'an K'eng* of the *Shu Ching*) is really from that time.

they be used in research. Realizing this, a great number of Chinese scholars have worked upon this problem, ever since the Sung dynasty. Yet the greatest volume of such work, and that crowned with the greatest success, has come in the last two decades. In this period a very few non-Chinese scholars have joined in the undertaking. The general tenor of such scholarship has been, while indulging in bold hypotheses and in bold attacks upon the hypotheses of others, to recognize that the field and the problems are vast, and to concede that it is not to be expected that any general formulae capable of resolving all questions will be evolved quickly.

It has remained for Professor Bernhard Karlgren to publish, late in 1935, what is probably the most comprehensive attempt ever made by any scholar, regardless of nationality, to construct a system by which bronzes produced at any time within Shang (i.e. Yin)<sup>1</sup> or Chou times may be dated definitely as belonging to one of certain circumscribed periods.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, if the system is as effective as it is intended to be, its usefulness is not limited to the dating of bronzes actually made in ancient times; it should also be of value in detecting forgeries, and Professor Karlgren believes it to be so (p. 88).<sup>3</sup> Probably the most difficult of the tasks undertaken in this study is the setting up of criteria by which Shang and Chou bronzes may be discriminated with certainty; Professor Karlgren is the first scholar, to my knowledge, to feel that he has achieved definite success in this attempt.

It must be said at once that, however one may criticize it,

<sup>1</sup> It is generally agreed that it is better in writing to use one term, either Shang or Yin, consistently, rather than to confuse matters by using both. Many prefer Yin. I use Shang, because the term Yin does not seem to occur in the bone inscriptions at all, because the people apparently called at least their capital Shang, and because the term Yin seems to have been exclusively a term used by the Chou people to designate them.

<sup>2</sup> Bernhard Karlgren, *Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes*, an article, pp. 9-154, with 58 plates, in *Yin and Chou Researches* (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1935, 7½ × 10½, pp. 223, pls. 90).

<sup>3</sup> All such page references in parentheses in the text refer to the work cited in the preceding note.

this is a remarkable study upon which an almost incredible amount of research has been expended. It contains a number suggestions which it is to be hoped will have a permanent effect on scholarship in this field; that of the term *li-ting* is a single example (p. 91). Karlgren's refutation of Maspero's sweeping condemnation of many bronze inscriptions (pp. 10-14) is a contribution which was sorely needed, and needed from one whose words would carry the prestige which his do. And his painstaking analysis of motifs, and careful examination of the criteria for dating hundreds of inscriptions of Chou date, provide material which must henceforth be considered by every student. Finally, and perhaps most important, this monograph will undoubtedly do more than any other publication to date to focus attention and stimulate research, in Occidental circles, on the much neglected bronze inscriptions.

Precisely because of the attention it will attract, and the eminence of its author, there is an element of possible danger in this study. With its content, as more or less tentative contributions, no one could quarrel. And Professor Karlgren has made occasional qualifying statements. But from the general tenor of this work the unwary reader would easily gain the impression that the author supposed the major problems of dating Chinese bronzes to have been solved by his formulae once and for all. Of his conclusions he says: "we establish general laws. . . ." (p. 89). His material, he says, "while perfectly safe, is yet quite comprehensive and sufficient for determining the style of the Yin bronzes" (p. 23). He has used "the safest and clearest criteria" (p. 87). Indeed, he feels his results to be categorically on a level far above that of Chinese scholarship in this field, for he says: "In their catalogues we find all these various types classified as Yin (Shang). But whereas the Chinese scholars have never proved them to belong to that time, we now, thanks to the testimony of the *ya hing*, *si ts'i sun*, and *kü*, are in a position to confirm the guesses of the Chinese collectors by definite proofs" (p. 138).

These are definite statements, and they raise a definite issue. If Karlgren's system for dating bronzes is "perfectly safe", based on "definite proofs", then the rest of us would do well to accept and use it forthwith, and not waste our energies on re-examination of problems he has solved. But if, on the contrary, the validity of his system is somewhat or considerably less than that which is claimed for it, great harm to scholarship might ensue if the prestige of its author should cause it to be accepted on a basis of something less than the most rigorous examination of its merits. In either case it is evident that such examination is imperative.

Limitations of space make it impossible to discuss all of the problems raised by this work; here we must focus our chief attention upon a consideration of the validity of the method by which the author would distinguish Shang from Chou bronzes. Not even all of the questions which suggest themselves in this connection can be mentioned.

The chief difficulty which will strike the average student is Professor Karlgren's apparent neglect of archæological excavation. Surely he must have known that scores of Shang bronzes, definitely dated by cross-reference to the bone inscriptions, were scientifically excavated by the Chinese National Research Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) at Anyang in 1934 and 1935. The writer has been privileged to examine a great many of them, including magnificent sacrificial vessels, on the spot. It is true that up to this time, in so far as I know, none of this material has been published. But it would seem that, if one has any regard for the results of excavation, he should at least, when speaking so definitively, mention the fact that his results would have to be checked by these materials when they become available. If Professor Karlgren did this, it was so unobtrusively as to escape my notice entirely.

He has worked on the basis of reproductions of inscriptions, and photographs and drawings of the bronzes. Reduced to its simplest terms, his method is first to find three symbols

occurring in inscriptions, which he refers to as *ya-hing* [*ya hsing* 亞], *si ts'i sun* [*hsi tzu sun* 析子孫], and *kü* [*chü* 舉], which he postulates as Shang. To test this he has selected a corpus of 108 inscriptions in which one of these symbols occurs together with "real texts", i.e. several readable characters. Examining these he concludes that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou". He continues: "In category A below we have brought together 337 cases of the three inscription symbols; they are all cases in which we have pictures of the vessels. If we were to add the *ya-hing*, *si ts'i sun* and *kü* inscriptions occurring in non-illustrated publications, the number would rise to something between 450 and 500. These 450-500 bronze inscriptions never contain Chou-time criteria; the 649 inscriptions of categories B, C, and D, which contain Chou-time criteria, never have the *ya-hing*, the *si ts'i sun*, the *kü*. Our conclusion that these three symbols existed only in Yin time and were obsolete in Chou time is fully corroborated" (p. 23). Finally, he makes a stylistic analysis of 337 photographs of supposedly Shang vessels; after eliminating a few he says: "The remaining 303 are remarkably consistent in type and decoration . . ." (p. 109); this, he feels, is further and definite evidence of their Shang date (p. 135).

All this is rather complicated and a bit confusing. Yet logically it is a distinctly weak chain. The fact that a group of bronzes whose inscriptions resemble each other also have stylistic resemblances may indicate that they belong to the same period, but it adds nothing to the evidence that that was the Shang period. Furthermore, the crucial terms in this argument are left wholly undefined. Karlgren never tells us what are the "Chou-time criteria" which his 450-500 hypothetically Shang bronzes lack. Nor, incidentally, does he ever deal with the fact that mere absence of Chou-time criteria does not at all prove that a bronze is Shang.

Fundamentally we are asked to believe that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou" because

Professor Karlgren tells us that this is the case. No other evidence is given us, and the whole case rests upon this point. Basically, the argument is one from authority rather than from proof.

In order to make a fair sampling of the 108 inscriptions listed by Karlgren on pp. 21-2 as Shang, I have carefully examined all those occurring in the 殷文存 *Yin Wên Ts'un*, the 貞松堂集古遺文 *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, and the 補遺 *Pu I* and 續編 *Hsü Pien* of the latter. These are forty-four, nearly half of the total number.

Kuo Mo-jo, from whose work Karlgren quotes extensively (while saying, quite rightly, that he is not always reliable) has written that the number of bronze vessels bearing inscriptions which can be ascribed definitely to Shang times "does not reach ten".<sup>1</sup> By "inscriptions" (銘 *ming*) he means, of course, something beyond two or three dubiously readable symbols probably standing for a proper name, or a sacrificial name such as "*fu i*". That these are extremely rare on Shang bronzes is also the opinion of my own teacher of palaeography, Professor Liu Tzū-chih (Liu Chieh), and of Chinese experts in this field generally. Mr. Laurence Sickman, of the Nelson Gallery of Art, told me that of the many Shang bronzes which he saw pass through the Peking market from 1930 to 1934, none had more than the usual two or three symbols in so far as he could recall. My own experience in Peking from 1932 to 1935 agreed with this. Among scientifically excavated Shang bronzes the absence of inscriptions is still more striking. The excavators told me that up until the summer of 1935 only three of the many bronzes found had proved to be inscribed, and these three had only one character each.

Yet Professor Karlgren's system for dating Shang bronzes is based on no less than 108 inscriptions, of which every one includes a "real text"! The forty-four of these which I have

<sup>1</sup> 古代銘刻彙攷, 殷契餘論, 附錄 *Ku Tai Ming K'ê Hui K'ao*, *Yin Chi Yü Lun*, *Fu Lu* (Tokyo, 1934), 1a.

examined averaged nine characters each. The longest contains no less than forty-one characters, and others contain twenty-five, twenty-three, and nineteen characters respectively.<sup>1</sup> Most scholars working in this field would consider the length of the great majority of these inscriptions, which Karlgren considers indisputably Shang, to raise serious doubt as to whether any of them should be ascribed to that period.

If Professor Karlgren considers that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou", there are many who will disagree with him. The very form of the characters of many of these inscriptions, the calligraphy—if we may use that term of cast characters—seems definitely of the Chou period. But that criterion is difficult to express objectively. Let us consider the character 彝 *i*, "sacrificial vessel," which happens to occur twenty-six times in the forty-four of Karlgren's supposedly Shang inscriptions I have studied. Sun Hai-po quotes four Shang forms of this character in his great index to the bone inscriptions<sup>2</sup>; we know the Chou form from innumerable bronze inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> They differ in that whereas the Chou form in almost every case shows the "hour-glass shaped" excrescence on the tail of the bird which becomes 系 in the modern script, the Shang forms in every case lack it. But every one of these twenty-six instances of the character *i* occurring in supposedly Shang inscriptions quoted by Karlgren agrees, not with the Shang, but with the Chou form.<sup>4</sup>

If we turn to phraseology, the expression 寶璋彝 *pao tsun i* occurs twelve times in these forty-four inscriptions<sup>5</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions occur in: *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Pu I*, shang 13; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, vii, 18; viii, 29; and iv, 47.

<sup>2</sup> 甲骨文編 *Chia Ku Wên Pien*, xiii, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. 金文編 *Chin Wên Pien*, xiii, 2-4.

<sup>4</sup> These twenty-six inscriptions occur in: *Yin Wên Ts'un*, shang 24; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, ii, 36, 41; iv, 12, 43; vii, 12, 13, 18; viii, 18, 23 (twice), 24, 25, 29; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Pu I*, shang 13, 18; chung 9, 18; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Hsü Pien*, shang 26, 36; chung 8 (twice), 9, 19, 24, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, ii, 36, 41, 44 [the *i* occurring here was

Professor Liu Chieh has often told me that experience has led him to consider, tentatively at least, that this is a criterion of Chou date. Again, there are two cases in which individuals are named, not with the simple cyclical character, as, for instance, *fu i*, but with the prefixed character "day" after the term denoting the person, thus: 日乙 *jih i*, 日癸 *jih kuei*.<sup>1</sup> I have long thought that this usage, which is rare, probably came in the Chou period when the use of such sacrificial names was dying out, and it was no longer certain that the fact that the cyclical character referred to a day would be understood; certainly the script of the former of these two inscriptions is definitely Chou in type. Such an inscription as 公錫[?]貝對公休用作父乙[寶?]降彝... *kung hsi* [proper name] *pei tui kung hsiu yung tso fu i* [*pao*?] *tsun i*...<sup>2</sup> would seem to conform to a usual and familiar Chou formula. But of course it is impossible, no matter how many of such examples might be cited, to meet Professor Karlgren's arguments, because he never tells us what are the "Chou-time criteria" which his supposedly Shang inscriptions "never contain" (p. 23).

If it were granted that Karlgren's application of his method were beyond criticism, its validity would remain to be proved. Are we justified in supposing that we could hit upon any characters or symbols used in the Shang period and then be so sure that they were not reproduced later that we could employ them as a touchstone of Shang date? The Chinese tendency to copy the antique, in script as in everything else, is notorious. Tung Tso-pin has shown that it operated already in the Shang period<sup>3</sup>; the bazaars of the present attest that

not included in the above list because the character is mutilated and the 糸 element, while clearly indicated, is only partially preserved]; vii, 12, 13, 18; viii, 24; *Pu I*, shang 13, 18, chung 9; *Hsi Pien*, shang 26, chung 19.

<sup>1</sup> *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, vii, 18; *Hsi Pien*, chung 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Hsi Pien*, chung 9.

<sup>3</sup> See his 甲骨文斷代研究例 *Chia Ku Wên Tuan Tai Yen Chiu Li*, in *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Peiping, Academia Sinica, 1933), 412-13.

it survives abundantly. In fact Professor Karlgren himself admits the possibility of such reproduction, for in concluding his stylistic examination he says: "The remaining 303 are remarkably consistent in type and decoration: there are altogether three vessels (16, 188, 189) which deviate from the definition of the Yin style contained in the criteria 1-38 above. It is certainly no exaggeration to state that these exceptional cases cannot in the slightest degree confute the general rules established with the aid of the 300 vessels which present criteria 1-38. The three exceptions must either be recent forgeries or else have been made in middle or late Chou time and quite exceptionally furnished with archaized inscriptions (*ya hing, si ts'i sun, kü*)" (p. 109). But Karlgren does not adequately explain why the other vessels, which do fit into his stylistic scheme, could not also be of a period later than the Shang, with archaized inscriptions.

He considers their homogeneity of form and decorative motif to make this doubtful. But here again the same danger of reproduction enters. And he has increased the likelihood that reproductions will find their way into his corpus by refusing to work with less than gross criteria. He says: "If we do not work with criteria of this kind in the present article, it is not because we underestimate their value and importance. It is, in the first place, because they are rather the criteria of the art student, whereas we are working along more archaeological lines; in the second place, because in nine cases out of ten we have to work not with the vessels themselves, which would enable us to study colour, patina, the finer details of the handicraft, but with illustrations only, and in a majority of cases not even with photographs but with more or less clumsy drawings. We are therefore forced to limit our investigations to more elementary, matter-of-fact, and palpable criteria, such as certain types of elements: straight or curved legs, scale pattern, cicada pattern, rings standing on the lids, and so on, and to leave the study of the more subtle æsthetic distinctions to the professional art connoisseur" (p. 87).

The only trouble with such a policy is that, since the connoisseur will naturally decline to deal with archæological questions, it would leave vital problems of the history of culture to fall, between the Scylla of archæology and the Charybdis of art, into the deep blue sea. Such departmentalization is a practical necessity for museums, but it has no place in the study of the scholar. If one decline to consider even "the finer details of the handicraft", to say nothing of "subtle æsthetic distinctions", he will be quite unable to distinguish between genuinely early bronzes and late reproductions, and this distinction is quite important. Of even more moment is the fact that, as I have pointed out in a previous publication,<sup>1</sup> when one compares scientifically excavated articles of Shang and of early Chou date, the motifs are sometimes virtually identical, and it is only by careful study of the details of execution that one can understand their differences. Such study is, of course, impossible from drawings, and difficult from photographs.

Professor Karlgren publishes thirty-six photographs of bronzes ascribed, by his system, to the Shang period. More than half of them fail to conform to any of the various types and styles of Shang bronzes with which I became acquainted, through examination of the excavated pieces and other material, in China. This is, of course, a subjective reaction, and does not prove that they are not Shang. Only six of these thirty-six photographs make upon me an immediately "right" impression, for a Shang piece; these are A 28, A 38, A 124, A 159, A 170, and A 283. A 1, A 2, and A 219 look as if they might be Sung pieces, but it is impossible to be sure from the photographs.

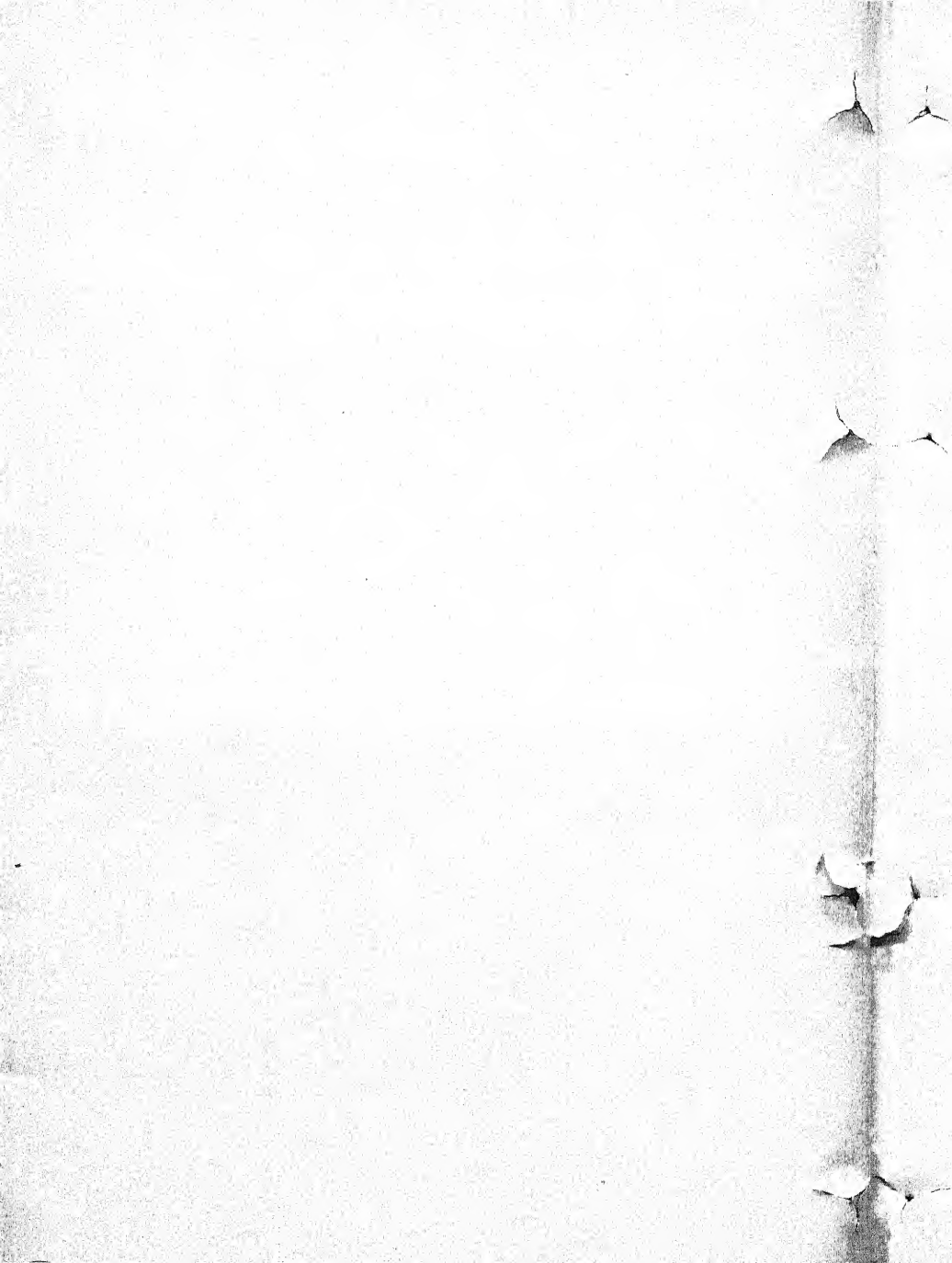
Since his formula for dating early Chou pieces is based in some measure on the method by which he has eliminated Shang pieces, the weakness of the latter detracts in some measure from his case here also (as, for instance, in connection with the "X-fu" formula, p. 25). Yet, despite occasional points

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, ix (1935), 103-104.

at which the logic of his argument might be questioned,<sup>1</sup> his work on the differentiation of Chou types contains much more that is likely to prove of permanent value, in my opinion, than does his system for dating Shang bronzes. Nothing in any of the above criticism is intended to detract from the appreciation of the genuine contributions made in the study under discussion. It is only when we find ourselves obliged to ask whether it does after all give us a system for dating bronzes which is "perfectly safe", based on "definite proofs", that it becomes imperative to raise these questions.

It is perfectly true that in many respects we know the Chinese of late Shang and early Chou times better to-day than their descendants of Han times knew them. The advances of the last ten years in this field are amazing, and they have only slowly been recognized by the Occidental scholarly world. Professor Karlgren has done yeoman service in combating unwarranted incredulity. But we shall have to proceed very slowly, claiming only that ground which has actually been won and established, working out gradually from the little which is known to the much which is unknown, else we are in danger of raising a new and entirely unnecessary scepticism of our methods and our results.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, he says of vessels of his categories C and D that "the great majority are of later date, from Eastern Chou time" (p. 24). This is because they had a conventionalized dating system, and "Since it is inconceivable that the feudal kingdoms could have such an advanced custom of conventionalized dating at the same time as the Royal Chou had an original free dating system, we must conclude that we are here confronted with a difference in period. Indeed, the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula becomes common in the last reigns of Western Chou (B 99, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107), and the feudal states seem to have followed the lead. The feudal vessels with the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula are therefore to be placed in the period from about 800 B.C. to 256 B.C. (end of the Chou dynasty), and the majority must be from Eastern Chou time (770-256). Moreover, since there is no reason to believe that just those feudal vessels which happen to have the month quarter indicated should be later than their undated sister vessels, we can assume it to be fairly likely that the great majority of the feudal vessels belong to this period" (p. 25). The last proposition is a *non sequitur*.



# The Poems of Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî— An Umayyad Poet

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## INTRODUCTION

SURÂQAH B. MIRDÂS AL-BÂRIQÎ was a contemporary of the great trio, al-Akḥṭal, al-Farazdaq, and Jarîr, whose names stand out so pre-eminently in the list of the Umayyad bards that all contemporary poets are thrown into the shade. Thus there is no article on our poet in the *Aghânî*, and he would have passed quite unnoticed but for his taking part in the literary duel between al-Farazdaq and Jarîr. The public scolding match (مهاجاة) in which these two masters were engaged for many years attracted our poet and, like the well-known Akḥṭal, he, too, joined in the fray with his sympathies for al-Farazdaq. The anecdotes relating to the "flytings" (قتاض), which he and Jarîr composed against each other, as narrated on the authority of Abû 'Ubaidah, will be found interesting. It is said that Muhammad b. 'Umair b. 'Utârid al-Dârimî, a noble,<sup>1</sup> offered four thousand *dirhams* and a horse to the poet who could compose a poem giving al-Farazdaq preference over Jarîr. Of all poets Surâqah, who had already composed some invective upon Jarîr,<sup>2</sup> took up the challenge and produced a piece of lampoon<sup>3</sup> which was carried to Jarîr, requiring him to make a reply forthwith. Jarîr tried throughout the whole night but failed. At break of day, however, his poetical genius came to his aid and the

<sup>1</sup> Mubarrad, *Kâmil*, p. 174; he was secretary to the Caliph 'Abd al-Mâlik b. Marwân (*Aghânî*, ii, 151), and also appears to have been a companion of the prince, Bishr b. Marwân, to whom he, thus, recited the verses of al-Akḥṭal (*ibid.*, xiii, 13).

<sup>2</sup> No. vi.

<sup>3</sup> No. vii.

sharp lampoon<sup>1</sup> that this great poet then produced is said to have silenced Surâqah against Jarîr once for all.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that Surâqah was urged against Jarîr by Bishr b. Marwân, an artistic prince,<sup>3</sup> who was fond of setting the poets against one another. It was he who had set Jarîr on al-Farazdaq.<sup>4</sup>

Suffering discomfiture, as Surâqah did at the hands of Jarîr, his sympathies for al-Farazdaq were probably estranged, as he is found to have composed certain satirical verses against al-Farazdaq also.<sup>5</sup>

Besides his literary duel with Jarîr for which our poet is pretty famous,<sup>6</sup> he appears to be known also for his fight with Mukhtâr.<sup>7</sup> The story of the poet's adventure with the Avenger is told with interesting details in the *Diwân* in the introduction to the verses which he composed in this connection.<sup>8</sup>

Surâqah came to Kufa with the prince Bishr b. Marwân<sup>9</sup> whom the Caliph 'Abdul Mâlik appointed governor of Kufa on the death of Mus'ab b. Jubair. When Mukhtâr carried his victorious arms into Kufa,<sup>10</sup> he routed the chiefs who had dealt treacherously with him and took as captives seventy notables

<sup>1</sup> See *Aghânî*, vii, pp. 42 and 63 seq.; Jumahî, *Ṭabaqât al-Shu'arâ* p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> *Aghânî*, vii, p. 64. The author of the *Aghânî* on another occasion (vii, 42) refers to the same invective of Surâqah against Jarîr and in another place (vi, 30) gives him the credit of certain verses which are also ascribed, probably rightly, to al-Aḥwas, as they do not occur in Surâqah's *Diwân*.

<sup>3</sup> He was fond of wine, musicians, and poets. His generosity and affability earned him the warmest praise of the poets. The most famous of them, al-Uqaiṣhîr, 'Abd Allah b. Zabîr, and Aïman b. Khuraim, not to mention the triad, al-Akḥṭal, al-Farazdaq, and Jarîr, sang his praise at this epoch of the renaissance of literature—*Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 731.

<sup>4</sup> Jumahî, *Ṭabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> See No. viii.

<sup>6</sup> Surâqah is thus mentioned in the *Naqâ'id* (ed. Professor Bevan), pp. 966, 967, 1014, and 1015.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Duraid, *Ishṭiqâq*, i, 282; Jumahî, *Ṭabaqât*, p. 156 seq.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. xii and xiii.

<sup>9</sup> Jumahî, *Ṭabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 157. Al-Suyûtî reckons him as one of the poets of Iraq—see *Sharḥ Shawâhid al-Mughnî*, p. 232.

<sup>10</sup> Mukhtâr seized possession of Kufa in A.H. 66 (A.D. 685-6).

from among the natives of Kufa. These captives included seven poets, of whom Surâqah of Bâriq, al-A'shâ of Hamdân, and Ibn Hammâm and Ibn Zabîr of Asad were prominent; and they were brought into the cathedral mosque of Kufa, where Mukhtâr was sitting watching their arrival. The Avenger, who used to put to death every prisoner that was brought to him, ordered, however, these captives to be put into prison. At this Surâqah exclaimed to his companions: "This is our safety," and began to recite at the top of his voice:—

"Show mercy to the people, O best of Ma'add,  
And best of those who respond to the call of pilgrimage  
and the call of prayer and prostrate themselves in  
worship,  
And the best of those who have alighted at Shihr and at  
Janad."<sup>1</sup>

"Who is this crier?" Mukhtâr inquired. "Surâqah b. Mirdâs," was the reply. "Bring the culprit to me," he ordered. When Surâqah was presented, Mukhtâr said to him: "What do you think will be the Divine dispensation for one who is guilty of treachery and perfidy?" "Show mercy to me," Surâqah implored. "Nay," threatened Mukhtâr, "I shall put thee to such a death to which I have not sentenced any other Arab before." "No, God has not given you that power to-day, you will slay me, though—you will slay me!" the poet passionately exclaimed. "When?" Mukhtâr asked. Surâqah replied: "You will conquer Mesopotamia and proceed to Syria and conquer it except Damascus; then you will besiege its inhabitants and slay ninety-nine Arab heroes and make the number hundred with me. And by God, it is not your army that defeated us!" "Then who defeated you?" Mukhtâr demanded. Surâqah replied: "A turbaned host on piebald horses and grey steeds, whom I do not find now in your army." "Listen, ye Guards of God!" Mukhtâr said to his followers, "those were the angels; you did not see although your enemies saw them." Then Mukhtâr asked

<sup>1</sup> See Tabari, ii, 664.

Surāqah to get on the pulpit and swear unto the people as to who defeated them. The poet did as he was bidden. He, however, did not make any secret of this clever ruse and is reported to have said afterwards: "I was never more false than in my oath that I took in order to escape from Mukhtâr."

Mukhtâr thus set our poet free, asking him to quit Kufa. He then joined 'Abdur Raḥmân b. Mikhnaf<sup>1</sup> with Mus'ab b. 'Abdullah in Basrah, vowing to fight with Mukhtâr till his death. When Mukhtâr heard this he destroyed Surāqah's house, which was, however, reconstructed by Mus'ab after Mukhtâr's death.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Duraid gives the genealogy of the poet: Surāqah b. Mirdâs b. Asmâ' b. Khâlid b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Tha'labah b. Kinānah b. Bâriq; 'Adî b. Hâarithah being called Bâriq from the name of a mountain<sup>3</sup> where he had alighted.<sup>4</sup> From Surāqah's poetry we gather that the poet's clan was descended from Azd Shanû'ah.<sup>5</sup> He pays a most glowing tribute to Shanû'ah, whom he calls his tribe, coming, as he says, from Asd, whose glory the rival Tamimites seek in vain to attain.<sup>6</sup>

We find a poet who is Surāqah's namesake from the tribe Banû Sulaim. He is a brother of the well-known *Mukhadrim*

<sup>1</sup> 'Abdur Raḥman b. Mikhnaf was the chief lieutenant of the able general Muhallab, who was sent by 'Abdul Malik to suppress the Azariqite revolt. Bishr b. Marwân, the Governor of Kufa, hated Muhallab and went so far as to order 'Abdur Raḥman b. Mikhnaf to cause his general's plans to miscarry. 'Abdur Raḥman was slain in the course of his campaigns against the Azariqites. Surāqah composed two poems (Nos. i and xv) to mourn his death and the history will be found in the introduction to the first piece.

<sup>2</sup> Mukhtâr was slain in a desperate sortie on the 14th of Ramaḍân A.H. 67.

<sup>3</sup> According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Bâriq is the name of a stream at al-Sharâh; it is also said to be the name of a place in Tihâmah. See Ṭaj al-'Arûs, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> *Kutâb al-Ishtiqâq*, i, 282.

<sup>5</sup> According to al-Amadî the Bâriqites were brethren of the Banû Khuza'ah.

<sup>6</sup> See No. xi, vv. 34-52. He is called by al-Suyûtî "al-Azdî al-Bâriqî"—Sharḥ-u Shawâhid-i 'l-Mughnî, p. 232.

poet, al-'Abbâs b. Mirdâs al-Sulamî.<sup>1</sup> Al-Âmadî also gives notices of Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî, the Senior, and Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî, the Junior, and mentions the junior Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî as a famous foul poet, and refers to his scolding match with Jarîr.<sup>2</sup>

In the opinion of Ibn Sallâm Surâqah was a humorous poet, much liked by the princes. It is said that after Jarîr had vanquished Surâqah he happened to pass by Surâqah at Minâ, where the poet was reciting verses before a crowd assembled round him. Struck with the beauty of the reciter and his fine recitation, Jarîr stopped to inquire who he was. "One of those," answered Surâqah, "whom God made to suffer humiliation at thy hands." "By God," observed Jarîr, "had I known thee I would have offered thee a present for thy grace and humour."<sup>3</sup> It is also related that there was once a severe drought in Kufa. People went out accompanied by their governor, Bishr b. Marwân, to pray for rain. As they returned there was rain followed accidentally by flood, which plunged the quarter of Bâriq under water. Next morning Bishr b. Marwân went out to see the effects of the flood and found the house of Surâqah in water, and, lo! Surâqah standing in the water exclaimed: "May God keep the Prince in prosperity, you prayed yesterday without raising your hands, yet you see what has happened, but had you prayed raising your hands there would surely have been inundation." At this Bishr smiled and Surâqah recited certain verses.<sup>4</sup>

Of his poetry Surâqah himself says: "After Imru'u 'l-Qais, whose name became famous in the days that he raved at 'al-Dakhûl and Hawmal',<sup>5</sup> I have attained a style of poesy

<sup>1</sup> See Jurjî Zaydân, *Târikh-u Âdâb-i 'l-Lughat-i 'l-'Arabiyyah*, i, 135; Amadî, *Kitâb al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif* and *Aghânî*, xix, 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Kitâb al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif fi Asmâ'i 'l-Shu'arâ*. I owe this reference to Maulana Abdul Aziz Memon of Muslim University, Aligarh.

<sup>3</sup> Jumahî, *Tabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> No. xiv.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Mu'allagah of Imru'u 'l-Qais, v. 1.

by which Muhalhil's verses became obscure—a style which was sought by Ḥassân b. Thâbit on that day when it came before his view like 'the Baradâ with whose water sweet wine is diluted' <sup>1</sup>; this style was also sought by Ḥassân's son, 'Abdur Raḥman, but it was unapproachable for him. The endeavours of the sons of Abû Sulmâ, like those of Jarwal, <sup>2</sup> fell short of our style and *Abû Baṣîr* did not see his way to it when he came to an assembly from the vale of Verse. And remember Labîd and Ḥâtim, amongst the 'stallion' poets, and the vastly learned Umayyah in whose verses is found wisdom like the clear revelations in the Psalms of David and al-Yadhmurî, in whose favour I passed a decisive verdict notwithstanding his early age, and Ibn al-Turâmah—not an unknown poet. My ocean of poesy did not draw from any one of them about whom you have heard. I am a youth who has attained to the utmost degree of excellence in their poetry. I have drawn from an ocean and not from a stream; I have drawn from an ocean whose sources do not fail—fuller than (the ocean) of Ka'b and the ocean of al-Akḥṭal." <sup>3</sup>

This is what Surâqah says of his style and poetry. I leave it to my readers, to whom I am presenting Surâqah's poems, to judge for themselves the poet's estimate of himself.

Surâqah is scarcely found cited in works of *Adab* or *belles-lettres*, perhaps because his style is—like that of the Umayyad poets in general—simple and easily intelligible and free from the "curious" (تَكَلُّف) and the strange and the unusual (غَرَائِب), which the authors of such works generally sought to adapt and explain.

The poems of Surâqah have, however, been preserved for us by such eminent litterateurs as al-Ḥusain b. 'Alî al-Namirî (ob. A.H. 385) <sup>4</sup> and Abû Aḥmad 'Abdus-Salâm al-Khâzin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dîwân of Ḥassân b. Thâbit*, xviii, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jarwal b. Aws al-Ḥuṭai'ah.

<sup>3</sup> See No. xi, vv. 57–72.

<sup>4</sup> See Suyûtî, *Bughyat al-Wu'ât*, p. 235.

al-Baṣrī (ob. A.H. 405),<sup>1</sup> who respectively got them in the handwriting of the well-known collector of Arabic poetry, al-Sukkarī (ob. A.H. 275), and in the handwriting of Ibn al-A'râbî (ob. A.H. 231), stepson and transmitter of the famous rhapsodist, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbî.<sup>2</sup>

I first came across an incomplete copy of Surâqah's poems in the National Bibliothek of Wien. This copy was made in February, 1904, probably from a copy in the Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek of Berlin.<sup>3</sup> This, again, is a copy from a manuscript in the Khedivial Library in Cairo.<sup>4</sup> I had also come by the archetype of the Cairene copy, as mentioned in its colophon, in the *Mektep* of Âshir Effendi in Constantinople. This archetype is also rather incomplete and has several lacunæ responsible for the omissions in the copies which also contain numerous errors due to homœoteleuton. Fortunately, however, I happened to discover in the Khedivial Library a codex of a collection of various texts containing the poems of Surâqah.<sup>5</sup> This copy, dated A.H. 1293, contains certain valuable additions with some interesting scholia and introductions to some of the poems.

Only five of Surâqah's poems<sup>6</sup> exhibit double rhyme marking the commencement of an ode, and only two of them contain the erotic prelude (نسيب) in which the resources of Arab minstrelsy are beautifully displayed. The other pieces are all occasional poems which, as Brockelmann says, "are suggested by the mood of the moment and can shed a vivid light on contemporary history."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 306; Maimanî, *Abu 'l-'Alâ' wa mâ ilaihi*, p. 121. Our MS. has only Abû Ahmad. I am indebted to the learned Maulana 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Maimanî for the identification of this surname.

<sup>2</sup> See the note at the end of No. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Where it is Mixt., 902.

<sup>4</sup> Adab 614, dated A.H. 1279.

<sup>5</sup> *Majmu'* No. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. vi, vii, ix, xvii, and xix.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. i, p. 45, quoted in Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 236.

## ١ قال سُرَاقَةُ بن مِرْدَاسِ البَارِقِي يَرْتِي عبدَ الرَّحْمَنِ بنِ مَخْنَفٍ

[طويل]

ثَوَى سَيْدُ الْأَسَدَيْنِ أَسَدِ شَنْوَةٍ وَأَسَدِ عُمَانٍ وَهُوَ رَمْسٌ بِكَازِرٍ<sup>١</sup>  
وَقَاتَلَ حَتَّى مَاتَ أَكْرَمَ مَيْتَةٍ يَا أَيُّضَ صَافٍ كَالْعَقِيقَةِ بَاتِرٍ

قال محمد بن حبيب : ذكروا أن يشر بن مروان لما بعث عبد  
الرحمان بن مخنف الى الأزارقة دعاه فقال له إن أمير المؤمنين كتب إلي  
يأمرني أن ابعثك إلى الأزارقة في مقاتلة أهل الكوفة، فإذا اتيت المهلب فانزل  
منه ناحية ثم افعل به كذا - فجعل يغريه بالمهلب وقال له استبد بالأمر عليه  
فأنت أشرف منه - فلما خرج عبد الرحمان سأله أصحابه ما أوصاك به الأمير؟  
فقال لهم ترك أن يغريني بقتل عدوه وعدوي وأقبل يغريني بابن عمي -  
فسار عبد الرحمان بقتال ومعه أصحاب الأرباع أرباع الكوفة: على رُبْع أهل  
المدينة جرير بن عبد الله وعلى ربع تميم وهمدان عبد الرحمان بن سعيد بن  
قيس الهمداني وعلى ربع مذحج وأسد ابراهيم بن الأشتر النخعي وعلى ربع  
ربيعه وكندة عبد الرحمان بن محمد بن الأشعث - فلما قدم ابن مخنف  
نزل من المهلب على أربعة أميال، فأتاه المهلب زائراً فقال له أنا أعلم بقتال  
هذا العدو منك فمُرْ بخندق عليك وأصحاب أرباعه يسمعون - فقال عبد  
الرحمان بن محمد بن الأشعث لهم والله أهون علينا من ضرورة الجمل - فلقب  
يومئذ «ضرورة الجمل» والأشعث يغضبون منها - وقالت امرأة من أهل  
البصرة حين انهزم عبد الرحمان بن محمد بن الأشعث من الحجاج بن يوسف  
نعيه هزيمته :

<sup>١</sup> يريد كازرون

تَرَكَتْ وَلِدَتَنَا تَدْمَى نُحُورَهُمْ وَجِئْتَ مِنْهُمْ يَا ضَرْطَةَ الْجَمَلِ  
 فقال أهل الكوفة خنادُنا أسيافنا فكث قطريُّ بن الفجاءة أياماً ثم أتى  
 المهلب فأناخَ بخنْدَقه فقاتله يومه ذلك حتى العصر وبعث المهلب إلى عبد  
 الرحمان بن مِخْنَف أن عدونا واحد ويدنا واحدة فأمدني بمن قبلك - فندب  
 عبد الرحمان الناس إلى المهلب مع جعفر ابنه، فالتدب معه خمس مائة -  
 فشدوا على جانب عسكر قطريٍّ فأفرجوا لهم فدخلوا خندق المهلب ثم قال  
 قطريُّ لأصحابه : ميلوا إلى أهل الكوفة فإنه لا بُقياً لهم بعد من أراه خرج  
 من عسكرهم - فقال إليهم فقاتلوهم بقيّة يومهم وليتهم حتى جنّ الليل وطلع  
 القمر لسبع بَقيّن من الشهر وبعث عبد الرحمان بن مِخْنَف إلى المهلب بن  
 ابى صُفْرة يستمّده - فقال بعض الناس لم يُسمّده برجل، ندب الناس إليه  
 فقالوا لا تقوى أن نمده مع ما لقينا من التعب يومنا هذا - وقال آخرون  
 لا بل خذلهم عمداً وأتاهم جعفر بن عبد الرحمان فيمن كان معه من أهل  
 الكوفة وقليل من أهل البصائر من أهل البصرة فقاتلوهم من ورائهم حتى  
 قُتِل وقُتِل من معه وقُتِل عبد الرحمان وأصحابه فقال سُراقَة بن مِرْداس البارقى  
 فى ذلك يرثى عبد الرحمان بن مِخْنَف ويذكر خذلانَ المهلب إياه.

قَضَى نَجْبَهُ يَوْمَ الْإِقَاءِ ابْنُ مِخْنَفٍ وَأَذْبَرَ عَنْهُ كُلُّ دَيْوْثٍ دَابِرٍ<sup>1</sup>  
 إِمْدًا وَلَمْ يُمْدَدْ وَمَاتَ مُشْمِرًا إِلَى اللَّهِ لَمْ يَذْهَبْ بِأَنْوَابٍ غَادِرٍ

٢ وقال سُراقَة أيضاً يرثيه

[كامل]

إِنْ يَقْتُلُوكَ أَبَا حَكِيمٍ مَرَّةً<sup>2</sup> فَلَقَدْ تَشَدَّدَ وَتَقَتَّلُ أَلَّا بَطَالًا

<sup>1</sup> الصواب عند الطبرى (٢ : ٨٨٠) الوث دائر

<sup>2</sup> عند الطبرى غدوة

1  
 إِنْ يُشْكِرُونَا سَيِّدًا وَلِسَيِّدٍ  
 فَلَمِثْلُ قَتْلِكَ هَذَا قَوْمَكَ كُلَّهُمْ  
 2  
 ضَحَّيْنَاهُ الدَّسِيعَةَ<sup>2</sup> مَاجِدًا مِفْضَالًا  
 مَنْ كَانَ يَحْمِلُ عَنْهُمْ<sup>3</sup> الْأَثْقَالَ  
 3  
 يَوْمًا إِذَا كَانَ الضَّرَابُ نِزَالًا<sup>3</sup>  
 حَتَّى تَسْرِبَلْ مِنْ دَمِ سِرْبَالًا  
 4  
 وَتَتَنَاجَزَ الْأَبْطَالُ حَوْلَ لَوَائِهِ  
 بِالْمَشْرِفَةِ فِي الْأَكُفِّ نِصَالًا<sup>4</sup>  
 5  
 يَوْمًا طَوِيلًا ثُمَّ آخِرَ لَيْلَةٍ  
 حَتَّى اسْتَبَا نَوَا فِي السَّمَاءِ هِلَالًا  
 6  
 وَتَفَرَّجَتْ عَنْهُ الصُّفُوفُ وَخَيْلُهُ  
 فَهُنَاكَ نَالَتْهُ الرِّمَاحُ نِهَالًا<sup>5</sup>

### ٣ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أيضًا

[وإفرا]

مَتَى مَا تَلَقَّ بَنِي خَيْلًا تَدَاعَى  
 فَلَسْتُ بِكَارِهِ لِقَاءِ رَبِّي  
 1  
 أَقَاتِلْ حِينَ أَعْرِفُ وَسْطَ قَوْمِي  
 وَلَا فَرَحَ الْفُؤَادِ إِذَا نَجَوْتُ  
 2  
 وَأَسْتَحْيِي الْكَرَامَ إِذَا نَبَوْتُ<sup>6</sup>  
 وَأَصْبِرُ فِي أُمُورٍ قَدْ عَرَّتْنِي  
 3  
 وَمَا جَزَعَ الْفُؤَادُ وَمَا شَكَوْتُ  
 وَلَسْتُ بِلَاطِمٍ وَجْهَ ابْنِ عَمِّي  
 4  
 وَشَلَّ الْخَمْسُ مَتَى إِنْ نَصَوْتُ<sup>7</sup>  
 5  
 وَمَا عَلِمِي بِهِنَّ إِذَا قَفَوْتُ<sup>8</sup>  
 6  
 وَلَا [أَلْهُوَ بِقِيْنَةٍ أَقْرَبَ بَائِي

<sup>2</sup> الدَّسِيعَةُ : الخُلُقُ ويقال الجَفَنَةُ.

<sup>4</sup> ويرى : "نِصَالًا"

<sup>5</sup> بالأصل : "فلا" مصحفاً عن : "نهالاً" كما ضبطنا.

<sup>6</sup> يقول إذا كانت منى نبوة فكلمني كريم استحيته ويكون أيضاً نبا به الزمان وقيل ماله

فنزل به ضيف فاستحياً من رده. <sup>7</sup> أى أخذت بناصيته <sup>8</sup> أى مضيت

<sup>1</sup> عند الطبري لسود سمح الخليفة

<sup>3</sup> النزال : المنازلة في الحرب

كَذَٰكَ نَشَأْتُ فِي قَوْمِي صَغِيرًا وَرَبُونِي بِذَلِكَ إِذْ رَبَوْتُ  
 ٤ وَقَالَ سُرَاقَةُ أَيْضًا

[طويل]

لَا تَنْكَحَنَّ الدَّهْرَ إِنْ كُنْتَ نَاكِحًا  
 مُلَفَّقَةً مِمَّا تَضُمُّ الدَّ سَاكِرُ  
 وَنُبَيْتَهَا تَسْرِي إِذَا اللَّيْلُ جَنَّهَا  
 بِجَوْخَى وَهْلٍ تَسْرِي بِجَوْخَى الْحَرَائِرِ  
 لَهَا مُغْزَلٌ أَغْيَا إِذَا مَا تُدِيرُهُ<sup>١</sup>  
 وَمِنْ كَامِخِ الْفُرْهِى جِرَارٌ حَوَادِرُ<sup>٢</sup>  
 ه وَقَالَ سُرَاقَةُ

[وافر]

مُجَالَسَةُ السَّفِيهِ سَفَاهُ رَأْيِي وَمِنْ حِلْمٍ مُجَالَسَةُ الْحَلِيمِ  
 فَإِنَّكَ وَالْقَرِينَ مَعًا سَوَاءٌ كَمَا قَدْ أَلَدِيمُ مِنَ الْأَدِيمِ  
 ٦ وَقَالَ سُرَاقَةُ يَهْجُو جَرِيرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّافِ

[طويل]

لَعَمْرُكَ إِنِّي فِي الْحَيَاةِ لَخَائِفٌ لِبِشْرِ عَلَى أَنْ لَسْتُ مَثْرِكََا ذَحَلًا  
 إِذَا كَانَ قَلْبِي لِلْخَلِيفَةِ نَاصِحًا وَوَجْهُهُ الْأَمِيرِ حِينَ أَحْضَرُهُ سَهْلًا

<sup>١</sup> يروى : لَهَا مُغْزَلٌ حَتَّانُ حِينَ تُدِيرُهُ أ

<sup>٢</sup> الْفُرْهُى : مِنَ الْفَارِغَةِ الشَّدِيدَةِ الْأَكْلِ وَالْحَوَادِرِ : الْعِظَامُ

تَهْدَأْتُ أَعْدَائِي وَجَاشَتْ مَرَّاجِلِي  
تَخَالُ الْقُمَامُ<sup>١</sup> تَحْتَهَا حَطْبًا جَزَلًا

فَإِنْ أَهْجُ يُرْبُو عَافِيًا نَسِي لَا أَرَى  
لِشَيْخِهِمُ الْأَقْصَى عَلَى نَاشِيٍّ فَضْلًا  
صِغَارٌ مَقَارِيَهُمْ عِظَامٌ جَعُورُهُمْ

بِطَاءٍ إِلَى الدَّاعِي إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ أَكْلًا<sup>٢</sup>  
قُبَيْلَةً لَا يُدْرِكُونَ تَبْلِيهِمْ وَلَا يَسْبِقُونَ الدَّهْرَ مُطْلَبًا تَبْلًا  
سَوَاءٍ كَأَسْنَانِ الْحِمَارِ فَلَا تَرَى

لِيذِي شَيْبَةٍ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى نَاشِيٍّ فَضْلًا<sup>٣</sup>  
لِعَمْرِي لَقَدْ بَاعَ الْفَرَزْدَقُ نَفْسَهُ

بِوَكْسٍ وَجَارِي لَا كَفِيًّا وَلَا فَحْلًا

٧ وقال أيضًا يهجو جريرا<sup>٤</sup>

[كامل]

لَمَنِ الدِّيَارُ كَانَهُنَّ السُّطُورُ قَفَرٌ عَفْتُهُ رَوَامِسٌ وَدُهُورُ  
أَخْشَى رَيْبَعَةً أَنْ أَلِمَّ بِدَارِهَا وَكَأَنَّنِي بِطِلَالِهَا مَأْمُورُ  
طَارَتْ عُقَابِي طَيْرَةً فَتَحِيرَتْ وَحَمَتْ بَوَازٍ صَيْدَهَا وَصُقُورُ

<sup>٢</sup> يقولون هم أصحاب بطون

<sup>١</sup> القمام: صغار الحطاب

<sup>٣</sup> أي هم كأسنان الحمار فلا يشبه بعضهم بعضاً أي مشايخهم في العقول كشبانهم

<sup>٤</sup> راجع الاغانى ج ٧ ص ٤٢ و ٦٣ وكتاب المختلف والمؤتلف للأمدى

يَا بَشْرُ حَقَّ لَوْجْهِكَ التَّبَشِيرُ هَلَّا غَضِبْتَ لَنَا وَأَنْتَ أَمِيرُ  
 حَرَزَ كُلِّبَا إِنْ خَيْرَ صَنِيعَةٍ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ الصَّوْمُ وَالتَّجَرِيرُ  
 هَبْ لِي وَلَاهُمْ<sup>١</sup> أَوْ لِأَدْنَى دَارِمٍ إِنِّي وَرَبِّي إِنْ فَعَلْتَ شَكُورُ  
 اضْرِبْ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي الْجَوَاعِرِ حَلَقَةً تَبَقَى فَإِنْ إِبَاقَهُمْ مَحْذُورُ  
 مَا يَطْلَعُونَ مَعَ الْكِرَامِ ثَنِيَّةً وَلَهُمْ مَنَازِلُ دُونِ ذَاكَ وَعُورُ  
 أَبْلَغَ تَمِيمًا غَشَا وَسَمِينَهَا وَالْحُكْمُ يَقْصِدُ مَرَّةً وَيَجُورُ<sup>٢</sup>  
 إِنْ الْفَرَزْدَقَ بَرَزَتْ حَلَابُهُ<sup>٣</sup> عَفْوًا وَغُودِرَ فِي الْغُبَارِ جَرِيرُ<sup>٤</sup>  
 مَا كَانَ أَوَّلَ مِحْمَرٍ<sup>٥</sup> عَثَرَتْ بِهِ أَنْسَابُهُ إِنْ اللَّثِيمَ عَشُورُ<sup>٦</sup>  
 هَذَا قَضَاءُ الْبَارِقِيِّ وَإِنِّي بِالْمِيلِ فِي مِيزَانِهِمْ لَبَصِيرُ<sup>٧</sup>

<sup>١</sup> ولا هم أن يكونوا مواليه وإنما يعيرهم انهم عبيد

<sup>٢</sup> كذا روى في الأغاني ٧ ص ٦٣ ومختلف الآمدى وبالأصل: "أَلْجَلْمُ" محرفاً عن: "أَلْحَكْمُ"

<sup>٣</sup> حَلَابُهُ التي في الحَلَبَةِ له من الجبل كذا كان بخط السكري ورواه ابورياش "حَلَابَتُهُ"

<sup>٤</sup> روى في الأغاني ج ٧ ص ٤٢ و ٦٣: إن الفرزدق برزت أعراقه \* سبقاً وخلف في الغبار جرير وروى صاحب الأغاني (٧ × ٦٣) بعده: ذهب الفرزدق بالفضائل والعلل \* وابن المراكم خلف محسور

<sup>٥</sup> المِحْمَر: الثقل من الدواب الثقيل الصدر

<sup>٦</sup> روى في الأغاني (٧ × ٤٢): ما كنت أول محمر قعدت به مسعاته ان اللثام عشور

روى في الأغاني فيها مضى آتفاً "إنكم" موضع "إننى" و "ميزانكم" موضع "ميزانهم"

٨ وقال سُرَاقَةُ حينَ فسدَ ما بينه و بينَ الفرزدق

[كامل]

قَدْ كُنْتُ أَحْسَبُ يَا بَنَ قَيْنٍ مُجَاشِعٍ  
أَنْ قَدْ خَصَّكَ فَلَا تَعْطُ جَرِيرُ  
وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ عَلَى تَبَاغِيكَ الْخَنَا  
أَنَّ الْخَصِيَّ إِذَا أُسْتَفَزَّ دَعُورُ  
إِنَّ الْخَصِيَّ يَشُولُ حِينَ يَرُومُهُ قَرْمٌ  
قُرَاسِيَّةٌ لِلْقَاءِ غَيُورُ

٩ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أَيضاً

[بسط]

لَا تَطْلُبُنَّ<sup>١</sup> فَتَاةً مِنْ مَسَامَتَهَا  
مَا لَمْ يُوَافِقْكِ مِنْهَا الدِّينُ وَالْخَلْقُ  
وَالرِّفْقُ يَجْمَعُ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ مَا اجْتَمَعُوا  
وَقَدْ يَشْقُ عَلَى أَصْحَابِهِ الْخُرْقُ

١٠ وقال سُرَاقَةُ<sup>٢</sup>

[طويل]

أَلَا يَا لَقَوْمٍ لِلْهُمُومِ الطَّوَارِقِ  
وَلِلْحَدَثِ الْجَبَّارِ يَأْخُذِي الْمَضَاقِ  
وَمَهْلِكِ غَطْرِيفَيْنِ<sup>٣</sup> كَانَا عِمَادَنَا  
مِنْ أَلَدِّ أَيْدَيْنِ الْمُقْدِمِينَ الْأَصَادِقِ  
سَمِعْتُ فَهَدَّ الرُّكْنَ مِنْنِي صَوَارِخُ  
وَقَدْ غَوَّرَتْ أُولَى النُّجُومِ الْخَوَافِقِ

<sup>٢</sup> راجع تاريخ الطبري ٢ : ٧٥٧

<sup>١</sup> و بروي : لَا تُسَكِّنْ

<sup>٣</sup> الْغَطْرِيفُ : السِّيدَ وَالْبَازِي غَطْرِيفٌ

بَأْسَرِ حُمَاةٍ يَا لَهَا مِنْ رَزِيَّةٍ

إِذَا الْحَرْبُ أَبَدَتْ عَنْ خِدَامِ الْعَوَاتِقِ<sup>1</sup>

وَمَصْرَعُ مِرْدَاسٍ عَلَى حُرٍّ وَجْهٍ

وَصُحْبَتُهُ تَحْتَ السُّيُوفِ الْبَوَارِقِ

فَرِيقَيْنِ هَذَا قَرْمٌ غَامِدٌ كُلِّهَا وَهَذَا الذَّرَى وَالْفَرْعُ مِنْ آلِ بَارِقِ

فَيَسْتُ مِمَّنْ كُنْتُ أَمِلُ نَفْعَهُ إِذَا نُسِفَتْ مِنْ أَكْرَامِ الْخَلَائِقِ

وَتَوْبٌ<sup>3</sup> دَاعِي الْمَوْتِ بِالْمَوْتِ يَمِينَا

وَدَارَتْ رَحَى حَرْبٍ بِقُعْسٍ<sup>4</sup> الْبَطَارِقِ

وَعَاذَتْ بِأَيْدِيهَا النِّسَاءُ كَأَنَّهُا مَصَابِيحُ لَيْلٍ أَوْ مِيْضُ الْعَقَائِقِ

وَدُرْنَا وَدَارَ الْجَمْعُ فِي حَمَسِ الْوَعَا كَمَا دَارَ وَلَدَانُ لَهَوًا بِالْمَخَارِقِ

هُنَالِكَ لَا يُرْجَى حَيَاهَا<sup>5</sup> لِنَفْعِهَا إِيَّاسٌ وَلَا يُرْجَى لِدَفْعِ الْبَوَاتِقِ

فِيكَ عَيْنُ بَكِّي الرَّائِقِينَ أُولَى النَّهْيِ

سِمَامُ الْعِدَى وَابْكِي حُمَاةَ الْحَقَائِقِ

وَبَكِّي إِيَّاسًا فَارِسَ الْحَرْبِ وَانْدُبِي

حُمَاهَا لَدَى الْهَيْجَاءِ فِي كُلِّ مَازِقِ

<sup>1</sup> يقول إذا الحرب كانت شديدة وذلك أن النساء إذا خفن على أنفسهن أن يسبين كشفن عن أسواقهن ليزدن في قتال أزواجهن وقومهن فيفارقون فيقاتلون إذا رأوا ذلك

<sup>2</sup> ويروى: "فأويس" موضع: "فيس" نسقت: قلعت

<sup>3</sup> توب: دعا <sup>4</sup> القعس: البطاء البراح <sup>5</sup> ويروى: "جها" البواتق: الدواهي

<sup>1</sup> فَقَدْ فُجِعَتِ أَسَدُ الْعِرَاقِ وَشَاكِهَا    وَ أَسَدُ عُمَانَ بِالطَّوَالِ الْغَرَاقِ  
 وَأَمْنَحِلَ وَادِينَا وَأَوْحَشَ أَهْلُهُ    وَ بَدَّلَ مِنْ فُرْسَانِهِ بِالنَّوَائِقِ<sup>2</sup>  
 فَقَدْ أَصْبَحَتْ نَفْسِي لِذَاكَ حَزِينَةً    وَ شَابَ لِمَا حُمِلْتُ مِنْهَا مَفَارِقِ  
 فَمَا أَنَا فِي طُولِ الْحَيَاةِ بِرَاغِبٍ    وَ مَا أَنَا إِذْ بَانُوا لِدَهْرٍ بِوَامِقِ  
 فَلَيْتَ الْمَنِيَا أَقْصَدْتُ نِسِي سِهَامِهَا    وَ عَافَتْ أَبَا بَكْرٍ بِزَحْرِ عَوَائِقِ<sup>3</sup>  
 وَلَمْ يَبْقَ فِي طَيْشٍ رِعَاجٍ أَذِلَّةٍ<sup>4</sup>    عَوَاوِيرٍ فِي الْهَيْجَا غَدَاةُ التَّلَاحِقِ  
 إِذَا مَا الْخُصَى طَارَتْ<sup>5</sup> وَ جَادَ بِنَفْسِهِ<sup>6</sup>

أَخُو الْمَوْتِ تَحْتَ اللَّامِعَاتِ الْخَوَافِقِ  
 وَ حَاكَمِي الْمُحَاكِمِي عَنْ أَبِيهِ وَ بَرَزَتْ    بِأَحْشَانِهَا أَهْلَ الْبُيُوتِ الشَّوَاهِقِ  
 وَ عَرَّدَ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّيْلَامِ مَخَافَةً

وَ حَاكَمِي حُمَاةَ الْجَمْعِ عَنْ ذِي الْوَشَائِقِ  
 وَ إِنْ أَكُ مَفْجُوعًا حَزِينًا مُرَزًّا    يُورِّقُنِي طَيْفُ الْهُومِ الطَّوَارِقِ  
 فَمَا أَنَا بِالْوَانِي وَ لَا عَاجِزُ الْقَوَى    وَ لَا نَزِقٍ يَخْشَى أَذَاتِي مُرَاقِبِي  
 وَ لَا لَا طَمَ وَجْهَ ابْنِ عَمِي سَفَاهَةً    وَ مَا أَنَا بِالْعُورَاءِ<sup>7</sup> يَوْمَا بِنَاطِقِ

<sup>1</sup> الغرائق: الشباب السود الرؤوس . يقول قُتِلُوا شَبَابًا وَمَعْنَاهُ أَنَّهُمْ كَرَامُ ذُوو سُودٍ

يَقْتُلُونَ لَا يَمُوتُونَ عَلَى فُرْشِهِمْ شَبُوحًا<sup>2</sup> النَّوَائِقُ: أَصْحَابُ الضَّأْنِ؛ يَرُودُ: النَّوَائِقُ

<sup>3</sup> أَقْصَدْتُ: قَتَلْتُني    <sup>4</sup> لَعَلَّه وَ عَافَتْ .. عَوَائِقِي

<sup>5</sup> زَحْر: مَوْضِعٌ قَالَ السَّكْرِيُّ كَذَا كَانَ بِحِطِّ ابْنِ حَبِيبٍ ثُمَّ رَجَعَ عَنْهُ وَقَالَ ابْنُ زَحْرٍ

<sup>6</sup> أَيْ ارْتَفَعَتِ الْخُصَى مِنَ الْقَرْقِ    <sup>7</sup> الْعُورَاءُ: الْكَلِمَةُ الْفَيْصَةُ

## Judge H. T. Colebrooke's Supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IN Darlowe and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures*, 1903 (= DM.), the earliest Hindi translation of the Gospels is entered as follows: "1806. The Gospels translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), president of the bench at Calcutta, and honorary professor in Fort William College, the first great Sanskrit scholar of Europe." This is confirmed by Pearce Carey's book, *William Carey* (= PC.). In the third edition, p. 408, he writes "so far from vaunting how many versions he and his colleagues could add to their credit, they postponed the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels till Colebrooke's was printed in 1806". In the eighth edition, 1934, p. 420, "they postponed till 1811 the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels leaving the field to Judge Colebrooke's version for five years."

I suggest that this statement, though found in two important independent works, both involving much research, is entirely incorrect and that to William Carey belongs the great honour of having produced the first translation of any part of the Scriptures in Hindi.

The libraries which might be expected to have a copy of Colebrooke's supposed translation do not possess one. These are the libraries of the Brit. Mus., the India Off., the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc., the Roy. As. Soc., of which Colebrooke's son was president, the Bapt. Miss. Soc., and Serampore Coll. The Catalogue of the As. Soc. of Beng., of which Colebrooke himself was president, does not contain it. Further, *Colebrooke's Life*, by his son, which gives a list of his works, and the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, in its "complete list", do not mention a translation of any part of the Bible.

After a time continued investigation practically convinced me that the idea of a translation by Colebrooke was due to

a misunderstanding. But the question remained "What was the source of the categorical statement that Colebrooke published Hindi Gospels in 1806?" Among numerous letters to various places I wrote one to Serampore College, and from the Rev. R. A. Barclay I received a reference which gives the probable origin of the story of the translation, though the date (1806) still required explanation. In a letter written by William Carey to Dr. Rylands on 14th December, 1803, which Mr. Barclay most kindly transcribed in full, Carey writes "A few days ago Mr. Buchanan informed me that a military gentleman had translated the Gospels into Hindoostanee and Persian, and had made a present of them to the College, and that the College Council had voted the printing of them. . . . I am glad that Major Colebrooke has done it. We will gladly do what others do not do" (*Periodical Accounts*, vol. ii, 456).

This is perhaps the place to point out the distinction between Hindi and Hindustani. Hindi is largely Sanskritic, many words are pure Sanskrit, while Hindustani, more correctly called Urdu, partially the same language, has Arabic and Persian words instead of Sanskrit. Carey, though using the terms indiscriminately, truly said that two translations were necessary "one into that [language] which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic for its supplies of difficult words, and another into that which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungscrit. Indeed the difference in these kinds is so great, that the Gospels translated into the former kind of Hindee under the auspices of the College of Fort William, is in many places quite unintelligible to Sungscrit pundits born and brought up in Hindoosthan" (*First Memoir*, 1808, p. 9).

Buchanan was Rev. Claudius Buchanan, for some years Vice-Provost of Fort William College, the author of some very interesting books, and a man of earnest Christian piety.

It is evident, as Mr. Barclay has pointed out to me, that Judge Colebrooke has been confused with Major Colebrooke.

The Judge does not seem to have done any Bible translation, though he was a great Oriental scholar and a good friend to the missionaries. He died in 1837—twenty-nine years after Major Colebrooke—and was not a military man. PC. in his earlier editions called him simply “Colebrooke”, but in his latest edition added the word “Judge”. Major Robert Hyde Colebrooke (1762 or 3–1808), afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, was probably Judge Colebrooke’s first cousin. He served in the Indian Army for thirty years, becoming Surveyor-General, and died in Bhagalpur. He was not directly connected with the College.

There has been further misunderstanding. The sole evidence for any translation into Hindustani (Urdu) by Colonel Colebrooke seems to be Carey’s letter. But the letter contains merely a second-hand reference to a conversation. Impressions left on one’s mind by conversation are notoriously inaccurate; impressions of a verbal report of conversation still more so. Here we have an account of a conversation reporting another which had taken place some time before. According to it Buchanan thought that Colonel Colebrooke had translated the Gospels into Hindustani, but in quarters where we should expect confirmation of this there is none; there is no reason to suppose that Colebrooke ever did so.

We come now to another point. Carey’s letter speaks of an Urdu translation of the Gospels, but DM. and PC. refer to Hindi, and there is nothing to show that either of the Colebrookes did anything in Hindi. The evidence to the contrary is strong.

#### I. THE COLEBROOKES DID NOT TRANSLATE THE GOSPELS INTO HINDI OR HINDUSTANI

(a) The very Buchanan, who is quoted as having said that Colebrooke translated the Gospels into Urdu, himself published in March, 1805, less than fifteen months after the conversation, a book called *The College of Fort William*,<sup>1</sup> containing the

<sup>1</sup> Published anonymously; but the author’s name is given at the end of *Christian Researches* which is by the same writer. See below.

“official papers and literary proceedings of the College” during its first four years. On pp. 219–225 is a list of “Works in Oriental Languages and Literature, printed in the College or published by its learned members”, and on pp. 225–231 under the date 20th September, 1804, the list is continued to include those published during the past year or “now in course of publication”. Several translations of the N.T. or of the Gospels in different languages are mentioned, but there is no reference to any Hindustani or Hindi translation by either Colebrooke.

(b) In 1819 Thomas Roebuck, one of the College staff, published a similar book entitled *The Annals of the College of Fort William from its Foundation on the 4th May, 1800, to the Present Time*. It contains (p. 586) “a general list of all works patronized or encouraged by the College”. This does not mention Colonel Colebrooke at all. Two Sanskrit works by Judge Colebrooke are referred to, but nothing by him in Hindi or Urdu. There is, however, the following reference to an Urdu translation of the N.T.: “The New Testament translated into Hindoostanee by [Mirza Mohummud Fitrut and] learned natives of the College of Fort William, revised and compared with the original Greek by Dr. William Hunter, Calcutta, in one volume quarto, 1805.” This translation appears in Buchanan’s *College of Fort William*, under date September, 1804, as “in the press” (p. 227). The words in brackets, omitted by Roebuck, are on the title-page. Though the language is Urdu, the character is Nagri. Several copies are in existence.

(c) Buchanan in 1811 wrote *Christian Researches in Asia*, which went through many editions. I have examined the 1st, 1811; 2nd, 1811; 5th, 1812; and 11th, 1819. On p. 2 we read “the first version of any of the Gospels in the Persian and Hindostanee tongues, which were printed in India, were issued from the press of the College of Fort William. The Persian was superintended by Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke, and the Hindostani by William Hunter, Esq.” Here again

nothing is said of a Hindi or Hindustani translation by Colebrooke.

A very important passage occurs on p. 223, n. (1st ed., also later edd.). "There are several Orientalists, who have been engaged in translating the Holy Scriptures. We hope hereafter to see the name of Mr. Colebrooke added to their number. Mr. C. is the Father of Shunscrit literature." The translation here hoped for, as the author goes on to say, was a Sanskrit version of the Pentateuch. This quotation shows us that so late as 1811 Judge Colebrooke had not translated any part of the Bible.

On p. 225 of the 1st ed., p. 251 of the 2nd and 5th, omitted in the 19th, we read: "The first Persian translation was made by the late Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke; and it 'blesses his memory'. Mirza Fitrut furnishes the *Hindostanee*. There is another Hindostanee translation by the Missionaries at Serampore." Fitrut was the principal translator of William Hunter's version; the other is Carey's first (1811) Hindi version.

We see then that in these contemporary works nothing is said about any Hindi or Hindustani translation published by either Colonel or Judge Colebrooke; only Fitrat and Hunter's Urdu Gospels (1805) are mentioned. Nor have I come across any reference in the Serampore letters. It is evident that Hunter's translation has been attributed to Colebrooke and changed to Hindi.

## II. THE DATE (1806)

We now ask why was the year 1806 given with such confidence by both DM. and PC.? The answer is not very difficult. In Carey's letter of 14th December, 1803, we are told that the missionaries had begun the Hindi or Urdu translation in 1802, but were not saying anything about it. On hearing Buchanan's story of the Persian and Urdu translations they stated openly what they were doing. On 24th September, 1804, they write "we are waiting to see the Hindoostanee

gospels which are printing at Calcutta for the College. . . . Translations are going on in Persian and Hindoostanee. When we have the advantage of seeing this work we shall probably begin part of the Bible in Hindoostanee". (*Per. Acc.*, iii, 23, 4. The reference is to Hunter's Urdu N.T., which was in the press in September, 1804.) Further, *ibid.*, iii, 242, 2nd June, 1806, "On the application of brother Carey we have been favoured with four hundred Testaments, from the College." (Reference again to Hunter's N.T., pub. 1805.)

It seems clear that the time at which Carey received Hunter's Urdu N.T. has been assumed to be approximately the time of its publication, and that Colebrooke has erroneously been supposed to have been the translator.

### III. CAREY DID NOT DELIBERATELY HOLD UP THE PRINTING OF HIS HINDI NEW TESTAMENT IN ORDER TO LEAVE THE FIELD TO ANOTHER TRANSLATION

In Carey's letter we read "About a year and a half ago, some attempts were made to engage Mr. Gilchrist, in the translation of the scriptures into the Hindoostanee language. By something or other it was put by. At this time several considerations prevailed on us to set ourselves silently to work". We may say that they began the translation in autumn, 1802. (*Per. Accts.*, ii, 456.)

At the very end of 1803 they were verbally given to understand that the Gospels had already been translated into Hindustani (*ibid.*). But they continued their own work, for in April, 1804, they write that in the previous year they had engaged in the translation of the N.T. into "Hindoostanee" and Persian; the former was nearly finished (a rough draft, doubtless, *ibid.*, ii, 538). In September, 1804, they are waiting to see the other translation. It was published in 1805 (probably the end), and in 1806 they get 400 copies. On 11th and 18th February (? 1806) Carey writes: "The scriptures are translating into eleven languages, of which six

are in the press, namely . . . Hindoost'hanees" (iii, 333, 4). At the end of 1807 Carey tells of their having printed "the Hindoostanee (new version) to Mark V". (Marsh, *Hist. of Translations of Sac. Scripts.*, 1812, quotes this as written on February, 1807.) Apparently the term "new version" is used to distinguish it from Hunter's Urdu version. (*Brief Narr. of the Bapt. Miss. in India*, 1813, p. 66.) Two pages further on "the N.T. in the Hindostanee put to press". In the *First Memoir*, 1808, p. 9, they write: "In the Sungscrit Hindee version nearly the whole of the N.T. waits for revision. We have begun the N.T. in the Deva Nagree character, and the book of Matthew is nearly finished." *Ibid.*, p. 22, "The printing of the whole ten [languages] will probably be completed in about four years; less than half that time will probably complete the N.T. in several of these, as . . . Hindee."

November, 1809. "Circumstances principally of a pecuniary nature" have "affected the printing of the N.T. in the Hindoost'hanees language. We have been enabled, however, to complete the better half of it, and hope soon to be able to finish the whole". (*Per. Accts.*, iv, 53.) (End of 1809) "Hindoost'hanees N.T. above half printed. The printing retarded by the same cause" (want of pecuniary support), *ibid.* v, vii. Finally we get "March, 1811. In the month of March, 1811, a N.T. in the Hindee and Mahratta languages have been finished at press". (*Ibid.*, iv, 243). "Hindee or Hindoost'hanees. The N.T. translated and printed" (*ibid.*, iv, 244). "20th August, 1811: The versions already printed and now circulating in India comprise five, namely . . . Hindee" (*ibid.*, iv, 370).

The course of events is plain. They began the N.T. in 1802; in December, 1803, they heard of Hunter's Urdu translation; their own first draft was far advanced in 1804; in September, 1804, Hunter's translation was sent to press; it was ready in the end of 1805; they received copies in 1806, and in the same year or in 1807 sent their version to press;

they had printed half by 1809, but money difficulties delayed them, and it was not ready till March, 1811.

#### V. CONFUSION BETWEEN HINDI AND HINDUSTANI (URDU)

This is partly responsible for the mistakes that have been made. Carey's 1st ed. of 1811 and 2nd ed. of 1812 are correctly described by both PC. and DM. as Hindi, and the first Urdu translation of the N.T. (omitting Schultze and Callenberg's which hardly counts), that by Mohummud Fitrut and William Hunter, 1805, is rightly given by DM. under Urdu, not Hindi.

Carey himself did not distinguish between the two terms, but realized the difference between the two dialects, calling one Sanskrit Hindi, and the other Delhi Hindi. (The latter name is not quite certain. Rev. David Brown says, in a letter dated 13th September, 1806, that he had received from Serampore MS. specimens of Shanscrit Hindoostanee and Delhi Hindoostanee.) On the English title-page of the 1811 ed. of his Hindi N.T. he called it Hindoostanee, but on the Hindi title-page of both the 1811 and the 1812 edd. he correctly said Hindi. It is true that it is not pure Hindi, but the Urdu words employed are not impossible in Hindi, whereas a very large number of Hindi words are used which could not occur in Urdu. William Hunter's Urdu is pure Urdu, Carey's Hindi is Urduized, and after the 2nd ed. had been exhausted the pure Hindi translation of another Baptist missionary, John Chamberlain, was printed instead of it.

#### CONCLUSIONS

(1) In 1803 Claudius Buchanan had a conversation in the course of which he learned that the Gospels were being translated into Urdu and Persian. He reported this to Carey and left on his mind the impression that Colonel Colebrooke was the translator. Colonel Colebrooke translated one Gospel into Persian, but nothing into Urdu.

(2) Colonel Colebrooke was confused with Judge Colebrooke who never did Bible translation.

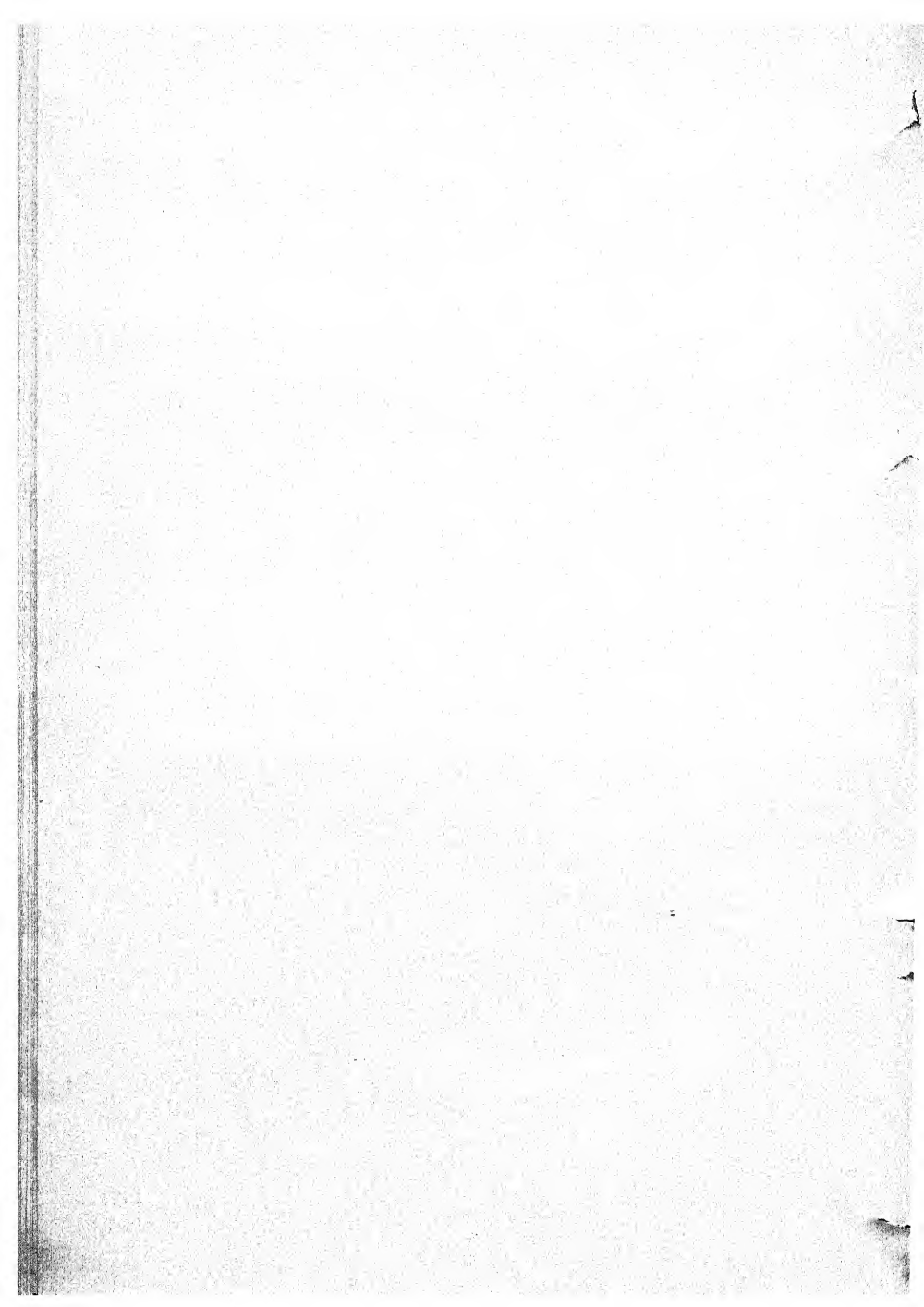
(3) There has been some confusion between Hindi and Urdu (Hindustani), but neither of the Colebrookes translated into either language.

(4) References in Serampore letters to William Hunter's Urdu N.T., 1805, without the mention of his name, have led to further misunderstanding; it was assumed that Colonel Colebrooke had done them, and he was confused with Judge Colebrooke. The fact that the Serampore missionaries received copies in 1806 has led to the belief that Colebrooke published Gospels in that year.

(5) The missionaries proceeded with their translation. Hearing in September, 1804, that Hunter's N.T. had just gone to press they waited for it. They saw it in 1806 and found it was Urdu. They then went on with the printing of their Hindi version, but were delayed by money difficulties.


(6) *Final Conclusion.*—The first translation of any part of the Bible into Hindi was the N.T. done under William Carey's superintendence and published in 1811.

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## MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

### NOTE ON THE CUNEIFORM TABLET FOUND AT SAMARIA

In Reisner's *Excavations at Samaria*, vol. i, 247, is published a small cuneiform tablet found in the construction trench of the Greek fort wall. The text can be controlled by photographs in vol. ii. There is a fragment of a circular press seal on this tablet inscribed ..... ; hence the document is stamped with a Hebrew seal. The proper names have been misread by Reisner or by a collaborator responsible for the edition. The editors give a name *Nergal-tallim* (?) which is to be read *Nergal-šal-lim*, a well-known Assyrian name. See Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 171. The photographs show that the sign copied PI is a form of *ŠAL* as written in the Amarna period, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, xii, p. 93, No. 208. The omission of the sign for god before Nergal is common in Assyrian contracts of the seventh century. Also the name A-A-PAP-ME is misread *Abi-aḥi* for *Aya-aḥê*, "The goddess Aya (has increased) the brothers." This name is also Assyrian, Tallquist, *ibid.*, p. 1; *A-a-aḥ-ha'*, Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 5.

The text also contains the title *amel rab alāni*, characteristic of the Assyrian official nomenclature of the eighth and seventh centuries; C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, iv, 247. Also the form of the sign for *amēlu* is characteristic of Assyrian epigraphy of the same period. The document reads, "If, on the tenth of the month, Ab Nergalshallim gives orders, Aya-aḥê shall give six oxen and . . . sheep to the 'chief of cities'." This document, therefore, was written at Samaria during the Assyrian domination after 721. The local officials are Assyrians. The scribe employs a mixture of the older script current in Palestine in the Amarna period and the official Assyrian script of the time of Sargon and

Senecherib. This document cannot be used to prove that Nergal was worshipped at Samaria. Adrammelek, a pagan deity at Samaria, was undoubtedly a type of Nergal (*Semitic Mythology*, pp. 71-2), but the proper names on the Samaria tablet are not based upon Hebrew philology nor upon Canaanite religion.

S. LANGDON.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ETHNOLOGIE DER JEMENTITISCHEN JUDEN. By ERICH BRAUER. Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, 1 : VII.  $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xix + 402, pls. 8, ills. 7, map 1. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1934. Mks. 25.

This is a model piece of ethnographical writing, no aspect of the subject being ignored. Full and profusely documented accounts are given of the history, occupations, domestic life, social customs, names, folklore, songs, laws, religious institutions, and even anthropometric measurements of the Jews in Yemen. The author has laid all previous work under contribution, but has depended mainly upon his own survey. A particularly welcome feature of the book is the constant citation of native terms, and the reproduction, with translations, of leading songs and proverbs. The full presentation of so many wedding-songs is especially to be commended and will perhaps be of value to those who would find analogies in the Song of Songs. The complete description of trades is another feature of the work which general anthropologists will find useful, whilst for the folklorist there is here an especially rich field.

Among more interesting points is the fact that even after marriage women are reckoned as belonging to the kindred of their fathers rather than husbands. In this connection Robertson-Smith's *Kinship* should be compared. The marriage ceremonies are closely similar to those of Syria described by Wetzstein and thought to underlie the Song of Songs, while the descriptions of the bridegroom as king and warrior perhaps explain Psalm xlv. The forfending of demons is a prominent feature of the wedding ritual, thus lending plausibility to Lauterbach's explanation of analogous Jewish rites. The alphabetic eulogies on the bridegroom call him by exactly

the same titles as are applied to God in the alphabetic acrostic of the Jewish Haggadah-poems *Addir Hu* and *Ki lo Naeh*. This the author has not noticed. The bride is secluded before the wedding, as in many parts. This perhaps explains the very name *kallah* "secluded one" (?).

In the account of the upbringing of male children I find no mention of any custom of "releasing the firstborn" (Pidyon habben) as among Jews. It would be interesting to hear if this occurs.

If there is any fault to be found with this book it is that the author does not sufficiently indicate what are exclusively Yemenite customs and what generally Jewish. The ordinary anthropologist will require such a control.

This, however, is a minor drawback to a work which is wholly excellent. The illustrations are clear and illuminating, and the whole book is fit to rank on one's shelves beside Spencer and Gillen—than which there can scarcely be higher commendation.

A. 244.

THEODOR GASTER.

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS. By Sir SIVASWAMY AIYER. Kamala Lectures.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ , pp. xix + 242, ill. 1. Calcutta: University Press, 1935. 4s. 6d.

In this interesting series of lectures the author sets himself to deal with the much discussed question of the adequacy of Hindu moral ideals for the solution of present-day ethical problems, both individual and social. His standpoint is that of liberal conservatism. He admits that, in their protest against any reform by the legislature of Hindu social usage, the orthodox have gone farther than was necessary. It is not essential, he thinks, that the rules laid down in the Dharma Sastra should be regarded as immutable and eternal. As a matter of fact he holds that in many cases only lip-service has been rendered to these doctrines and that in practice the ethical ideals of Hinduism have not remained stationary.

Sir Sivaswamy certainly does not whole-heartedly defend the reliance upon authority which is advocated by the rigid, but he argues that many other systems of ethics are in like case, and that a belief in the eternity of the Vedas "calls only for a somewhat larger order upon belief" than is demanded by reliance upon the authority of revelation in general or upon the doctrine of "intuition" in Western philosophy.

The author's main contention is that the authority of ancient texts has not exerted an excessive influence upon practice, and that by peculiar principles of interpretation or by recourse to legal fictions little difficulty has been found in bringing about such modification of the rules of society as are necessary in modern times. He points out, however, that at an earlier period new writers were admitted to the category of authoritative law-givers, and he protests against the present-day unwillingness of the orthodox to grant similar recognition.

The development of ideals is discussed in detail with much perspicacity and knowledge, and there are useful disquisitions upon such topics as marriage, the position of women, the law of inheritance, caste, slavery, the relations of ruler and ruled, etc. We do not know, however, that we can agree with the somewhat peculiar theory of moral freedom put forward in the course of an analysis of the doctrine of *karma*. The comparisons with other religions are not always quite fair, e.g. as when discussing tolerance it is suggested as a generalization that other religions "condemn the followers of other creeds to eternal damnation". Perhaps the author is rather too fond of a *tu quoque* as a means of rebutting criticism. But on the whole the book shows a healthy readiness to consider favourably the changes in the traditional system which are called for by the requirements of modern society.

SA'ADJA AL-FAJJUMI'S ARABISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER PSALMEN (Psalm 90-106). VON ERNST EISEN. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. viii + 107. Leipzig: Druck von Albert Teicher, 1934.

Sa'adya Gaon's Arabic translation of the Old Testament has a place quite its own in the history of the Texts and Versions of the Bible. It was made directly from the Massoretic text by a Jewish Rabbi of the Fayyūm in Upper Egypt, who lived in the late ninth and early tenth centuries of our era, and was accompanied by brief but often illuminating commentary. Though the Pentateuch in this translation was published at Constantinople as early as 1546 and has been reprinted in the Polyglots, it is curious that we still have no complete accessible edition of the whole work. The Derenbourgs assisted by Mayer Lambert commenced a project for the production of the *Oeuvres complètes de R. Saadia ben Josef al-Fajjumi* in 1893, but it stopped with Bacher's edition of Job in 1899.

The Psalms in Sa'adya's translation have attracted the attention of many scholars, and different groups of them have served as the basis of several Theses in German Universities. Dr. Eisen's work is of this class, being his Doctoral Dissertation prepared under Bergsträsser at München. It contains the necessary introductory material on the work of Sa'adya as a translator and exegete, the style of his Arabic, the possibilities of Islamic influence, the curious freedom both in his translation and his rationalistic exegesis, and the problems of his relation to the Massorah and the Targum. Then with some account of the MSS. comes the text, in Hebrew characters, of the Psalms studied with brief commentary and translation.

It is a useful addition to the now numerous studies of Sa'adya, and is particularly useful to the student of Arabic philology by reason of the excellent *Wortregister* at the end. N.R. 35.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

DE ISLAM EN DE VROUW: BIJDRAGE TOT DE KENNIS VAN  
HET REFORMISME NAAR AANLEIDING VAN M. R. RIDA'S  
"NIDA' LIL-DJINS AL-LATIF". Door WILLEM JAN  
AREND KERNKAMP. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$   $\times$  7 $\frac{1}{4}$ . pp. viii + 251.  
Amsterdam, 1935.

The attention of students interested in the movements of modern thought in Islam should be called to this Doctorate Thesis presented to the Faculty of Law in the University of Utrecht.

The publication of Dr. Adam's work on *Modernism in Egypt* and the Essays edited by Professor Gibb on *Whither Islam?* has led to considerable interest in the currents of thought moving in the Near East towards a restatement of Islamic belief and reform of Islamic practice. Dr. Kernkamp's book takes up this study from a new angle, that of the Woman Question.

No one at all familiar with the life of the Near East can be unaware of the enormous importance of the Feminist Movement in Modern Islam, whether that championed by Mme Charaoui Pasha and her co-workers, or the more humble and less publicized efforts in many centres that are working determinedly for a new deal for women within Islam. Nor can anyone in touch with modern Arabic literature fail to notice the fruits of the championship of the cause of women by the Egyptian writer Qāsim Amīn. What great progress there has been in the way of attempted reform of the Islamic Law (Sharī'a) has been illustrated by Professor Schacht in his article "Sharī'a und Qanun im modernen Agypten: ein Beitrag zur Frage des islamischen Modernismus" in *Der Islam* for 1932, and the literary controversy over the subject by Rudi Paret's pamphlet *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*, 1934.

The champions of reform have often tended to be drastic in their rejection of orthodox Islamic teaching, and there have not been wanting forces of reaction. In the daily press of Egypt and Palestine one not infrequently finds articles

or reports of lectures which definitely call for the rejection of this whole spirit of modernism and plead for the acceptance *in toto* of the old orthodox teaching as to place of women. Others are convinced of the need for reform and are aware that in the modern world young women who have imbibed the spirit of Western culture are not going back to the old conditions of life prescribed for them by Islamic orthodoxy, but they would have the reforms worked out in a way that would not break too definitely with the Islamic system.

One of the outstanding works that have appeared in this controversy is the essay by Sheikh Rashīd Riḍā, "Nidā' lil-Djins al-Laṭīf," which is the expansion of a lecture delivered by the Sheikh on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday celebrations in the year 1932. Its full title is "An Appeal to the Tender Sex on the rights of Women in Islam and their share in modern Islamic Reform, with investigation into the questions of Polygamy, Concubinage, Veiling and Divorce, the problem of the Prophet's wives, the respect due to women, piety towards parents, the education of Daughters, and such like matters". The Sheikh's essay is of peculiar importance as he is the most vocal of all the disciples of the great Egyptian Reformer Muḥammad 'Abdu, whose works he has edited and whose Life he has written. He has, however, neither the intellect, the broad outlook nor the kindly charity of the great 'Abdu, and has with the years tended to move back more and more in the direction of a defence of pure orthodoxy.

Dr. Kernkamp gives a brief account of the forces that are playing on the modern world of Islam and forcing on these problems of Reform, and a somewhat fuller account of the various types of Modernism within Islam, and the problems which their teaching raises. Then he fastens on the Woman Question as raised by Sheikh Rashīd Riḍā's essay, and after showing the legal problems involved, goes on in the main part of the Thesis to give a detailed analysis of the argument of the essay with copious commentary from both the old

literature of Islam and the modern literature of reform. Being a man of law Dr. Kernkamp is mainly interested in the juristic aspects of the problem, and perhaps the main value of his work is the wide documentation that it provides for all students of the subject. He is not, however, blind to the human problem, and the sociological fact that the sentiment of love that is all important to woman's position in any community is never developed save where there is a strong moral restraint on the male instincts. The problem of this moral restraint is all important for the future of womanhood in Islam.

N.R. 34.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

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A TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects. By H. A. JÄSCHKE. 9 × 6½, pp. xxii + 671. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1934. 42s.

This book is a reprint of the well-known dictionary first published in 1881, which, in spite of many others which have seen the light since then, is still a *livre de chevet* for every Tibetan scholar.

The Tibetan dictionary by S. Chandra Das has rendered valuable services so far as the so-called classical texts are concerned, viz. those contained in the *Bka' aggyur* or in the *bsTan aggyur*, but it appears to be incomplete if one has to deal with the immense indigenous literature, viz., the *ram t'ars*, the *gsun qbums*, the popular songs, etc.

The dictionary by Desgodins contains many words and expressions which seem to be peculiar to Eastern Tibet; that of Jäschke, on the other hand, is chiefly based upon Western Tibetan dialects, and its value is enhanced by the fact that the author lived for many years in Lahul and had the opportunity of studying on the spot, not only local manuscripts but the living language.

Up to the present day it is the best dictionary so far as those provinces are concerned, and every page points to the

insight and linguistic sense of the author. Of course it is far from being complete: but no dictionary can boast such a claim until individual dictionaries are compiled for the various provinces, because, of the truth of a Tibetan proverb which I have often experienced in that country, "every lama has his own religion and every village has its own language."

The dictionary of Jäschke presents us with a good and well digested material concerning Indian and parts of Western Tibet. The editors must therefore be congratulated for having reprinted a work which has long become extremely scarce.

A. 235.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

LES SOURCES INÉDITES DE L'HISTOIRE DU MAROC PUBLIÉES.  
PAR PIERRE DE CENIVAL. Publications de la Section  
Historique du Maroc: Première Série—Dynastie  
Sa'dienne: Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal. Tome  
I, Juillet 1486—Avril 1516. 11 × 7½, pp. xvi + 782, pls.  
9, plans 2. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 150.

This stately volume contains documents dealing with a very obscure period of Moroccan history: the attempt of the Portuguese with a certain measure of success to obtain possession of the country. The documents are mostly in Portuguese, some in Arabic, and a few, emanating from or addressed to Popes, in Latin. The editor has provided French translations of the Arabic pieces; to all he has prefixed careful analyses in French, which will prove helpful to those who find the archaic Portuguese difficult. Besides elucidating the allusions and technicalities in the documents M. de Cenival has inserted between the groups of letters a history of the events with which they are concerned based on elaborate and probably exhaustive research. The result is a work of great, to some extent dramatic interest, although there are neither heroes nor villains. For a time things go on the whole well for the Portuguese; they capture a number of

places and obtain the allegiance of various tribes. Towards the end of the period the tide begins to turn. An attempt to take Marrakesh fails; another, to build a fort at Mamora, by the mouth of the Sebou ends in a terrible disaster. The belief in Portuguese invincibility is shattered, and the loyalty of the tribes that had accepted Portuguese rule becomes suspect.

The occupation of the Moroccan strongholds would seem to have been a steady drain on both the man-power and the finance of Portugal, since the letters consist very largely of applications to the king for men and money; great armies were sometimes despatched, as for the conquest of Azemmour; the bulk had to be sent home when the objectives had been gained, and there are complaints of the insufficiency of the forces left to defend the conquered territory. We should guess that Portuguese imperialism in this region was not financially successful. The Jews seem to have enjoyed a fair measure of protection, and one Ibrahim b. Zamirou plays a rather important role.

The work appears to merit warm recognition as a contribution to the history of Portugal and North Africa.

A. 354.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DASTŪR-I-PAHLAVĪ. By DIN MUḤAMMAD. Comparative Grammar of the Pahlavī and Persian Languages. In Persian.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 244. Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1934. Rs. 8.

This is a Pahlavī grammar and a comparison between Pahlavī and modern Persian grammatical formations. It contains 240 large pages. The author apologizes for his Indian style, but, though a Persian might detect a few idioms which he might himself vary, the style is really very creditable to one who is not a native of Iran. The work is interesting, and Mr. Din Muḥammad is to be congratulated on the labour he has incurred and the way in which he brings out what he seeks to show. The printing, both of Persian and Pahlavī,

is good and clear. At the same time it would be misleading to ignore certain defects.

The book is much too long. Its length is due to the profusion of quoted examples, a large proportion of which might have been omitted. Thus it is not necessary to give three quotations from classical Persian writers to show that the Persian plural of the names of living creatures ends in  $\text{ان}$ , and no less than five to show that in the case of inanimate objects it ends in  $\text{ها}$ . These facts are so well known to all who know any Persian at all that they might simply be stated, and all examples dispensed with.

Pahlavī is just an archaic form of Persian without its Arabic, and written in a very peculiar way. Complicated forms of writing, which appear to spell some Semitic word or root, are used to express in written form common Persian words. Salemann wrote his *Middle Persian Grammar* thirty-five years ago and made this quite clear. But a reader of Mr. Din Muhammad's work might easily not realize it. There is nothing to show it in the main body of the grammar. In the very interesting introduction—in which, however, I should have liked to have seen some acknowledgment of indebtedness to Browne—Balsara's suggestion that Semitic forms were deliberately adopted in order that races under Persian influence might more easily understand the language of their rulers is quoted, and (p. 225) this idea is apparently accepted. Surely it is incredible; such forms did not exist, they were only ideograms which were read as Persian words.

A. 357. C. N. SEDDON.

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AN IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA. (In a Sanskrit Text c. 700 B.C.–c. A.D. 770.) By K. P. JAYASWAL.  $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xvi + 77 + xiv (index) + 75 (Skt. text). Lahore : Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1934. Rs. 8.

The *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, which Mr. Jayaswal edits under the above title, is part of a Mahāyānist work on the history

of Buddhism written about 770 A.D. The uncorroborated evidence of a Sanskrit MS. is usually regarded by historians with suspicion, but fortunately the Sanskrit text of this *Mūlakalpa* was translated very literally into Tibetan about 1060 A.D., forming part of the Kanjur canon. The close agreement between this and the Sanskrit version (which came to light in Travancore) excludes all possibility of faking.

The document is Pan-Indian in outlook, Kushāns, Chālukyas, Pallavas, and Indonesia find place in it, but its chief interests centre in Bengal (where presumably it was written), and, particularly, in the dynastic struggles for paramountcy (Maukhari, Thānesar, Valabhī, and later Gupta) in the obscure period between the Hun invasions and the accession of the Pālas (A.D. 500–800). The chronology is inevitably elastic (contrast pp. 44 and 63) and, as names of persons are mostly indicated by initials only, Mr. Jayaswal himself has occasional qualms as to their interpretation, but he is far too sound a scholar to indulge in improbabilities, and his reconstruction is of extraordinary interest and importance. It is to be hoped that fresh archæological discoveries will confirm it. The printing is careful, but on p. 69 Vinayāditya's demise should be dated 696, not 656, A.D.

A. 373

F. J. RICHARDS.

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LES NOMS PROPRES SUD-SÉMITIQUES. By G. RYCKMANS.  
3 vols.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ , pp. xxi + 415, 134; xxiv + 206.  
Louvain : Bureaux du Muséon, 1934–35.

This important work will be found indispensable by all who have had any dealings with the subject of the early Arabian inscriptions. It contains in the first volume a *répertoire analytique* of proper names found in the north Arabian (Tamoudian, Lihyani, etc.), South Arabian (Sabaeen, Minaean, etc.), and Ethiopic inscriptions, arranged by roots under the headings of divine, personal, tribal, local, and month names, which is in itself a valuable advance towards the much-desired end of a complete word-index to the early Arabian inscriptions;

the second volume, an alphabetical index to the first; the third, a "concordance générale des inscriptions", enabling one to identify those which are commonly cited under more than one name. Students of the subject who have in the past known the irritation of attempting to track down the Corpus an inscription referred to by its number in the Halévy or Glaser collection, will feel profoundly grateful to Professor Ryckmans for having undertaken the laborious and difficult, but most essential task of compiling this concordance. I would draw special attention to this part of the work because the title of the whole gives no clue that it includes such a part.

One word of warning to users of the first volume. For reasons explained in the introduction, the citations in the body of the work are not exhaustive, and must be supplemented by reference not only to the addenda at the end of each volume, but also to the *répertoires alphabétiques*, where additional citations are given.

A reference work does not lend itself to detailed criticism. In the short chapter on month names, however, I have been able to make an exhaustive study, and believe that there are a few citations of some interest which might have been added. The month דִּעְתָּר is quoted only from *CIH*. 77-8, the citation *CIH*. 461 being classed among the "noms uniques". This fragment has, so far as I know, not been commented on since its publication in the Corpus, which leaves up any attempt at a consecutive rendering. The recognition, however, of דִּעְתָּר there as a month name would, I think, help considerably towards explaining the hole of it. Further, by omitting altogether דָּחָר (*CIH*. 64) from the list, the author seems to imply that he considers the word to have its usual meaning of "year". Apart, however, from the fact that Halévy read דָּחָר before it unfortunately that part of the stone became illegible shortly after his time), the following consideration seems to me to

support the idea of it being a month name here. The inscription is dated in the sixth century of the Sabaean era : now, of the other inscriptions dated in the sixth and seventh centuries, one (CIH. 537) has the word "year" before the numeral, against three (CIH. 540, 541, 621), and possibly four (if, as is likely, CIH. 644 is of similar date to 621), which omit it, the formula being, e.g. in 540 "וּרְחֵי הַדָּרְתָּא וְלֵהּ מִסְתָּא"; it is only in dates up to the fourth century that "year" invariably occurs. The example just quoted further gives a precedent for the use of the name of a season also for a month.

A. 377.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

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JAPANESE BUDDHISM. By the late Sir CHARLES ELIOT.  
 9 x 6, pp. xxxiv + 449. London: Edward Arnold  
 and Co., 1935. 42s.

This book, in the words of Sir Harold Parlett's *In Piam Memoriam* Foreword, is complementary to Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*. Consistent to the end in his loyalty to work of research, the author waited to complete and publish it, till he had laid down his office of ambassador at Tokyo, having thereby gained liberty to write his judgments. I was looking forward to his return from his unofficial visit to Japan, "bringing his sheaves with him," when death took him at sea, leaving Sir Harold Parlett and Mr. G. B. Sansom, who had both worked with him in Japan, to complete and publish his work. This begins with chapters on "the Canons", Hinayānist and Mahāyānist, Buddhist doctrines in India and China, "the Pantheon," i.e. of Buddhas, and Buddhism in China. Part II then gives us a history of the entrance and spread of Chinese Buddhism into Japan, with chapters on Amidism, Zen, and—this by Mr. G. B. Sansom—Nichiren. Once more our materials for knowledge little known has been enriched by this man's watchful and untiring travels and pen. The results will find due and critical mention by other hands.

A. 403.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

TEXTES POPULAIRES INGUŠ recueillis par M. JABAGI. Traduits, commentés et précédés d'une introduction grammaticale par G. DUMÉZIL.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 73. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935.

The preface and grammatical introduction end on p. 15, and the rest of the book contains eighteen different pieces with interlinear translation and commentary. This is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the rapidly dying languages of the North Central Caucasus, and it is to be hoped that M. Jabagi may publish more of the large store of folk-songs and folk-tales which he began to collect from his boyhood till political events drove him into exile.

A. 435.

O. WARDROP.

DIE KOSMOGRAPHISCHE EPISODE IM MAHĀBHĀRATA UND PADMAPURĀNA. By LUISE HILGENBERG. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 4.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. liii + 40. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. R.M. 9.

From W. Kirfel's *Kosmographie der Inder* we know that the cosmographic episode in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣmaparvan, Adhyāyas 5-11) occurs in a word for word parallel in the Padmapurāṇa (Svargakhaṇḍa, Adhy. 3-9). Dr. Hilgenberg has made it her object to analyse this episode and trace its relation to other similar fragmentary cosmological descriptions which are found in what Professor Kirfel calls the second group of the Purāṇas (especially the Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Vāyu P.). Her task, in which she has been successful, was to deal with those problems which are connected with the history of the texts, this being of importance not only for the solution of the chronological and critical problems of the Mhbh. and Purāṇas but also for the history and critique of Indian cosmological ideas.

In her exhaustive treatise she discusses all the identical passages in the two sets of texts and comes to the conclusion that the Purāṇa versions of the episode are the older ones,

serving as basis for the Mhbh. and Padmap. texts. The latter show several deviations, of which some exhibit Jainistic influence. Their closest resemblance is with the Matsya P. It is also more than likely that the redactor of the Mhbh. took the episode from the Padmapurāṇa.

The whole text of the episode (beautifully collated and carefully edited with copious references) is given in forty pages at the end of Dr. Hilgenberg's investigation.

A. 279.

W. STEDE.

TUHFAT EL A'YÂN BI SÎRAT AHL 'UMÂN. By 'ABDALLÂH IBN HÛMAID ES SÂLIMÎ. Edited and annotated by IBRAHÎM IBN IṬFAYISH EL JAZÂ'IRÎ. 9 × 6½. Arabic text. Volume I (2nd edition), pp. 302, Cairo, 1350 (1931). Volume II, pp. 316, Cairo, 1347 (1928). London A. Probsthain. 12s.

'Umân is a province of Arabia so isolated that as a rule what happens there does not matter much to the outside world. Occasionally it has had a share in movements and developments that is worth studying. The present book, which was written in 1330 (1912), consists almost entirely of rather loose and indefinite annals of the province beginning before Islam and ending near the date mentioned. A large part of the contents is concerned with small wars and petty local struggles, which even if they had been related with the dates and details required to give them substance would still have remained tedious and not very profitable to follow. More useful matter appears occasionally, but the amount is not great. From some of the authorities cited it seems that it is not impossible that some genuine early historical material, unknown elsewhere, may still be preserved in 'Umân from which further facts of value could be obtained with regard to such questions as the part taken by the Azd tribes in the Islamic conquests, early Islam in 'Umân, and so forth.

Though the *Tuhfa* resembles in a general way the history of 'Umân by Salîl ibn Razîk, of which a translation by G. P. Badger is published in the Hakluyt Series, it differs from it in detail and for the most part seems to be quite independent of it. It may be useful to draw attention to an account in the *Tuhfa* of an expedition of 100 ships sent from 'Umân in the time of the Imâm Eş Şalt ibn Mâlik (237-273 (851-886)) against the Christians of Socotra, since this event does not appear to be mentioned in any other book. The *Tuhfa* goes rather out of its way to confuse 'Îsâ ibn Ja'far, the cousin of Hârûn ar Rashîd and Zubaida, with 'Îsâ ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaimân, a mistake not made by Salîl. For some of the later parts of the history, Salîl's book ending at 1273 (1856) is fuller than the *Tuhfa* and probably more reliable.

The annotations are few and short.

A. 303.

R. GUEST.

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RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARABE. Tome cinquième. Publié, etc., sous la direction de ÉT. COMBE, J. SAUVAGET et G. WIET. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  × 9, pp. 193. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934.

The fifth volume of the excellent collection of the French Institute of Oriental Archæology of Cairo contains 400 Arabic inscriptions. Nos. 1601-2000, from the years A.H. 354-386, and a few additions and corrections to this and the former volumes. The material includes signatures, epitaphs, and inscriptions, relative to the foundation or construction of monuments.

The Arab Museum of Cairo, the Benaki Museum of Athens, the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford, the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, the Archæological Museum of Madrid, the Vatican Museum, the Museo civico of Syracuse, the Convent of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, and the collections

of Abemayor, Bailleul, Nahman, and Tano, are among the institutions which contributed material to this volume. Valuable additions were furnished by M. S. Dinand (Nos. 1617, 1630, 1771-3), E. Tisserand (Nos. 1626, 1634, 1652, 1922, 1949), E. Kühnel (Nos. 1638, 1644), É. Lévi-Provençal (Nos. 1614, 1631-2, 1649-50, 1823, 1863, 1872-3, 1882, 1904), A. Grohmann (No. 1766), Rh. Guest (Nos. 1767-1770, 1782, 1810, 1870), K. A. C. Creswell (Nos. 1899, 1901, 1902 (with Rh. Guest), U. Monneret de Villard (Nos. 1880-1), and Eustache de Lorey (No. 1898).

A. 383.

JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

1. IṢṬASIDDHI OF VIMUKTĀTMAN with Extracts from the Vivaraṇa of Jñānottama. Edited by M. HIRIYANNA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXV.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. xxxvi + 697. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1935. Rs. 14.
2. SIDDHĀNTABINDU OF MADHUSŪDANA with the commentary of Purushottama. Edited and translated by PRAHLĀD CHANDRASHEKHAR DIVĀNJI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXIV.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , pp. 24 + cxlii + 93 + 306. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1933. Rs. 11.
3. SHABARA-BHĀṢYA. Translated into English by GANGANATHA JHA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXVI and LXX.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ , (Vol. I) pp. xv + 1-706, (Vol. II) pp. xx + 707-1416. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1933 and 1934. Rs. 16 each volume.

The *Iṣṭasiddhi* is a polemical work of the Advaita school of Vedānta, dated by the editor between the limits of A.D. 850 and 1050, and dealing chiefly with the theory of *māyā*. Its importance lies in its discussion of the various theories of error, and, though apparently it contains no identifiable quotations from Buddhist works, specialists in Buddhist logic would do well to consult it. The editing is good and the introduction scholarly and admirable, giving adequately but briefly all the information required by the reader and avoiding digressions into extraneous matters.

The next work is a late Vedantin manual, in the form of a commentary on the *Daśaślokī* attributed to Śaṅkara, and has already been printed elsewhere. The text is good, and the translation, if hardly intelligible by itself, is of assistance to grasping the not always easy original. The introduction and notes would have benefited by the excision of all irrelevant or unnecessary matter and by a more concise method of expression; to discourse at length on every conceivable subject too frequently brings into relief the limitations, not the extent, of a writer's learning, besides the aggravation it causes the reader.

The last two volumes cover for two-thirds of the distance the final stage of a great undertaking, the complete translation into English of the *bhāṣyas* on the six orthodox philosophic systems. The methods and excellence of MM. Gangānātha Jha's translations are by this time so well known that it would be superfluous to use up space in describing them, but at least a word of gratitude is due to him for his labours, which in the case of a text like that of Śābarasvāmin were necessarily formidable. As a study in method (the results being much the same), a comparison should be made with O. Strauss's translation of the *bhāṣya* on the first five *sūtras* in *SBPAW.*, 1932, each author having worked independently of the other. A really good index, as promised for the third volume, would be a great boon, especially if it mentions all controversies with other systems, a point omitted in the preliminary index to the first volume.

A. 386, 385, 387, 391.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

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NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA, with the commentary of ABHINAVAGUPTA.  
 Edited by M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI. Volume II.  
 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXVIII.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xxiii  
 + 25 + 460 + iv. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934.  
 Rs. 5.

In the eight years that separated the appearance of the first volume of this edition of the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* from

that of the second, the editor acquired much new material and has evidently studied the Sanskrit literature on the subject in greater detail. The text of the *śāstra* as worked out by him in this volume is distinctly better than any we have, and he has on the whole done well with the commentary, the MSS. of which are very corrupt. But as the latter often gives little idea of the actual words that Abhinavagupta had before him, the edition inevitably raises the whole problem of the constitution of the text, which is almost as complicated as that of the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. Kavi seems now to have arrived at definite ideas on this subject, but he expresses himself with such lack of lucidity and gives so little of the essential information that it is very hard to find out exactly what he thinks or has done. It is to be hoped that in the introduction to the final volume he will explain his views clearly in detail and give us a considered and critical account of the MS. material. A really good index to the whole work is also required, all the more so as he has failed to provide distinguishing marks to direct attention to the occurrence of references to writers and literary works in the commentary.

The commentary raises one point of importance for literary history ; for on the *anubandha* to chapter xvi, which is treated as chapter xvii in other editions, it illustrates the explanation of rhetorical terms by quotations, the majority of which are from plays, whose MSS. only survive in Southern India, such as the four plays known as the *Caturbhāṇī*, the *Kundamālā*, the *Avimāra*, etc. These plays do not seem to be quoted elsewhere in the commentary, and the method of citation differs from that elsewhere employed by Abhinavagupta. *Prima facie* I incline to the view that these passages have been added by a later hand in peninsular India and that it is unsafe to draw any deductions from them about the authenticity or the date of the plays in question.

AN EARLY MYSTIC OF BAGHDAD. A study of the life and teaching of Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, A.D. 781-857.

By MARGARET SMITH.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xi + 311. London : The Sheldon Press. 1935. 15s.

This book gives us what has long been desired, a full account of the doctrine of Muḥāsibī of Baṣra, who died in A.D. 857 and is celebrated as one of the most original mystic theologians in Islam. His writings are among the oldest of their kind, and had a great influence not only on Ṣūfīs but, through Ghazālī, on the main body of earnestly religious Moslems, while it is probable that St. Thomas Aquinas and other medieval Christian authors indirectly drew inspiration from him. Dr. Smith is now preparing an edition of his masterpiece, the *Kitāb al-Ri'āya* ; of his extant works (more than twenty in number) only one has yet been printed. Nearly all these, however, have been utilized in the present study, and much new material was collected by Dr. Smith herself during travels undertaken for that purpose in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. That it sheds little or no light upon outward events and circumstances is not surprising : the whole object of these treatises is to set forth the true principles and practice of the mystical life, a theme which Muḥāsibī develops with extraordinary insight, subtlety, and delicacy. His use of dialectic (*tashqīq lil-kalām*, p. 27) as a controversial and literary weapon shocked orthodox and old-fashioned people like Ibn Ḥanbal, and was criticized by some eminent Ṣūfī contemporaries. But he writes from the heart. His own story of his conversion (translated on pp. 18-20) will bear comparison with the well-known parallel passage in Ghazālī. The seven chapters in which Dr. Smith discusses his psychological theory and the ascetic, moral, devotional, and mystical aspects of his theology are illustrated by many striking extracts and give an admirable view of the man and his teaching. Although the goal he seeks is perfect harmony with God through disinterested love, he takes care to maintain a just balance between the intellectual and emotional elements

in religion. "God," he says, "is not known except by means of the reason," and he warns his readers against the pantheistic tendencies inherent in the doctrine of *faná*. We find frequent borrowings from the Gospel and other works of Jewish or Christian origin, but it does not follow, and personally I think it unlikely, that he had studied the earliest Arabic translations of this literature. There was a vast floating stock of such foreign goods, easily accessible to Moslems at the time.

Dr. Smith's learned and lucid exposition should attract many besides specialists. On p. 71, l. 3, "group" is obviously an unsuitable word for the *Ahl al-Sunna wa-'l-Jamá'a*, who were not "founded" by any one. In the first footnote on the same page, read "Ibn Khallikān, iii, p. 554; Sha'rānī, p. 84": The spelling of proper names is occasionally inaccurate, e.g. 'Atba ('Utba), Ḥudayfa (Ḥudhayfa), and on p. 259 *Ghurriyat* (*Ghunyat*), Ibn Rāhwiya (Rāhawayh), Ibn al-Dakhmasī (al-Dakhmīsī). But these are small blemishes in a fine book, for which every student of Šúfism will be grateful.

A. 519.

R. A. NICHOLSON

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PERSIAN LITERATURE. A bio-bibliographical Survey. By C. A. STOREY. Section II, fasciculus 1: (A) General History; (B) The Prophets and Early Islam.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xl + 175. London: Luzac and Co., 1935.

In this second instalment of his work Professor Storey continues his description of the raw materials available to the student of Persian history and literature. An account is given of all historical works written in Persian down to the time of the neo-Iranian renaissance and either noted in catalogues or mentioned elsewhere as being in existence. The work is comprehensive enough to include with the purely Persian writers not only Indian authors but all translators also. Even with a knowledge of this it is a little startling to

find that the dubious efforts at Persian composition of Thomas Wm. Beale are regarded as worthy of a place (p. 151). However, within the encyclopædic range of the survey this must be regarded as admissible. Professor Storey is engaged on further instalments of his work, and one may look forward to the time when an index begins to be possible. In some future fascicule, it may perhaps be suggested, a correction might be made of the phrase in No. 213, p. 173, which states that 'Askar al-Mahdī was "in" al-Ruṣāfaḥ, at Baghdad. According to Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 189, the two were identical.

It is to be hoped that Professor Storey's other duties and interests will not divert him from the task of completing his survey as quickly as possible. Even now its usefulness to anyone concerned with the literature of Persia is very evident.

A. 486.

R. LEVY.

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THE BUCHEUM. By Sir ROBERT MOND and O. H. MYERS. Forty-first Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society.  $12\frac{1}{2} \times 10$ . Vol. i, pp. xii + 203—History and Archæology of the Site. Vol. ii, pp. 92—The Inscriptions. Vol. iii, pls. clxxiii—The Plates. London: (Egypt Exploration Society), Humphrey Milford, 1934.

In writing a review of a work to the compilation of which so many persons have contributed, and which in consequence is made up of so many parts, one finds it difficult to know where to begin. Perhaps it will be wisest, therefore, to give merely a short summary of the results of the work done and of their historical connections.

Beside what could be discovered from references in classical and early Christian authors, little has hitherto been known about the worship of bulls in Egypt, a practice common among primitive peoples and not confined to that country. The previous excavations of the burials of two Mnevis bulls at Heliopolis (Daressy) and of those of the Apis bulls at the Serapeum (Mariette) provided, however, a little information.

The present excavation of the burials of the sacred Buchis bulls at Armant (the Bucheum) and of the cow-mothers (the Baqaria) has yielded much new material for comparison. It is possible that the excavations of the French Archæological Mission at Tôd and Medamût may throw further light on the subject.

Not the least of the finds is a series of stelæ inscribed in the hieroglyphic character, which extends from the time of Nekhtorheb (346 B.C.) until that of Diocletian (A.D. 295), providing a fairly continuous history of the bulls, and examples of the latest form of hieroglyphic writing which we possess. The stelæ have been translated and commented upon by Mr. H. W. Fairman, and form a large portion of the subject matter of vol. ii. Some of the late examples are extremely difficult to make sense of.

Briefly stated, the information which we now have concerning the Buchis bulls is as follows. The worship of Buchis began in the reign of Nekhtorheb (always supposing that there are no earlier burials still to be discovered), Buchis being then equated with the bull of Medamût, at which place there had been a bull-cult as early as the twelfth Dynasty. The bull was probably white with black head, and would have been selected by this and other distinguishing marks. The bull was installed and rowed from Thebes to Armant, his mother being highly honoured, perhaps as a virgin mother, like the mother of Apis, and kept in the temple of Armant. The bull may have been peripatetic, visiting Armant, Medamût Tôd, and Thebes, remaining for a short while in each place. A solar connection (Mnevis) of the Buchis bull is shown by his description in the stelæ as *bꜣ nḥ n Rꜥ, whm Rꜥ*, "the living soul of Re", the repetition of Re" (the exact shade of meaning conveyed by the latter epithet is uncertain), and a connection with the Nile (Apis) by the fact that in 1730 a Nilometer was still standing in the temple lake of Armant. The bull appears to have been allowed to die a natural death, the span of life being anything up to a little less than 25 years,

The excavation on the site commenced in 1927, and was not concluded until the end of the season 1931-2. During this time directors were Mr. W. B. Emery, Dr. H. Frankfort, and Mr. O. H. Myers, the last being responsible for the publication of the results of the work of his predecessors as well as those of his own. The memoir contains a great amount of work, and, as already intimated, the assistance of a large number of experts in subjects related to archæology has been called in. The various types of antiquities have all been thus considered, described, and recorded in their respective places with painstaking detail.

A few mistakes and misprints have been noticed in vol. ii. In Stela No. 15, G (1), p. 15, "Year 2" should be "Year 24". In Stela No. 16, pp. 16 and 17, the notes <sup>t</sup> (there are two) and <sup>s</sup> do not correspond with the reference-letters in the translation. In Stela No. 21, G (1), p. 20, "Khoiak 2" should be "Mesore 2".

A. 299.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

LA PLACE D'AL-FĀRĀBĪ DANS L'ÉCOLE PHILOSOPHIQUE MUSULMANE. By IBRAHIM MADKOUR. 10 × 6½, pp. x + 254. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934.

Some years ago the Paris publisher, Félix Alcan, issued a series known as "Les grands Philosophes", which included Ibn Sinā, Al-Ghazzālī, and Maimonides. Why Al-Fārābī, a philosopher head and shoulders above those mentioned, was not included, is an enigma. Yet for anyone who was prepared to tackle the *mu'allim al-thānī* the ground was already well ploughed and sown by the scholarly Steinschneider whose *Al-Fārābī* was issued over half a century ago.

In view of this hiatus, it was with the greatest pleasure that we opened the new book on Al-Fārābī by Dr. Madkour which Professor Massignou introduces with a flourish. When such unmistakeable notes are sounded by so eminent a professor we were naturally roused to enthusiasm by the

fanfare. Yet as we read page after page of this book our interest seemed to cool, until by the time we had reached the end a feeling of disappointment had taken possession of us. It is true that Dr. Madkour has "cultivated the Arabic sources direct", but in almost every case the sources are those which have already been made known to us by Dieterici who, in addition, has even given us a translation into German. Why not have culled from the *Talkhīṣ nawāmīs Aflātūn*, the *Risāla fī'l-nafs*, the *Kitāb al-alfāz al-Aflātūnīya* or the *Risāla fī'l-'alam al-a'lā* which we only know by name since they have not been published? Further, seeing that Al-Fārābī was first of all a logician, as Aristotle would have every philosopher, we might have had an introduction to Al-Fārābī's philosophy via his logic. Even if many of his logical treatises are wrapped up in Hebrew translations there are enough Arabic tracts in the Escorial and Bodleian libraries to have furnished Dr. Madkour with material for such a contribution. If we may use the simile of Professor Massignon, this "panorama of the philosophical ideas of Al-Fārābī", is not panoramic. What is given us in Dr. Madkour's book is not an "all-round view". This criticism covers the main portion of the book. On the other hand, chapters 1 and 2 are decidedly a contribution of considerable value to those interested in the origins of Muslim philosophy, although much of it may be found in the writings of Boer, Carra de Vaux, Dieterici, Horten, and Steinschneider.

The author writes clearly and convincingly. Following Al-Fārābī he is synthetic in his treatment of the subject. On the whole, the book is well worth reading. It is furnished with two excellent indices and a comprehensive bibliography, although it manages to omit the present writer's contributions on the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* in the *JRAS.* (1932-4). A full page is devoted to errata which, on closer scrutiny, could easily be doubled.

KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA'S *PRAVACANASĀRA*. Critically edited, with the Sanskrit Commentaries of Amṛtacandra and Jayasena, and a Hindi commentary of Pāṇḍe Hemarāja, and an English translation, by A. N. UPADHYE, Professor of Ardhamāgadhī, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. 2nd ed. 10 × 7, pp. 14 + cxxvi + 376 + 61. Bombay : Shetha Manilal Revashankar Jhaveri for the Parama-Śruta-Prabhābaka-Maṇḍala, 1935. Rs. 5.

This volume forms a most useful contribution to the growing literature of Jainism and supplements excellently the translation of the *Pravacanasāra* which we owe to Professor Faddegon. Of special importance is the detailed investigation of Kundakunda's date. The editor very justly rejects the proposal of the late Professor Pathak to assign him to A.D. 528, pointing out that the Merkara copperplates of Śaka 388 mention six Ācāryas with a clear statement that they belonged to the Kundakundānvaya, which is quite incompatible with the date suggested, apart altogether from the fact that, as Professor Thomas has justly stressed, the identification of Śivakumāra, whom Jayasena mentions as the king, for whom this treatise was written, with the Kadamba king Śivamṛgeśavarman is quite untenable. Nor is it possible to adopt the view of Pt. Premi that the term *loyavibhāgesu* in Kundakunda's *Niyamasāra* refers to the *Lokavibhāga* of Sarvanandi composed in Śaka 380 ; the reference is clearly to works generally on the topic, not to a specific text.

An effort is made by the author to utilize the Prākṛit of Kundakunda in favour of his own tentative conclusion that Kundakunda's age lies at the beginning of the Christian era. His very useful investigation of the Prākṛit (pp. cxi-cxxvi) leads him to the conclusion that its appellation Jaina Śauraseni is justified, and that, taken on the whole, it represents a stage earlier than that of the Prākṛit portions, as analysed by Professor Jacobi, of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. That text may be placed before Bhāsa and Kālidāsa at the beginning of the second century A.D. Moreover, the absence of Apabhraṃsa

forms in the best preserved of Kundakunda's works may be adduced to support this view, since such forms are found in the *Pañmacariya* of Vimalasūri, whose own statement places him at the beginning of the Christian era. Neither argument, it is clear, can be stressed. The date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as we have it is very uncertain, and the condition of the Prākṛit therein much disputed, while Vimalasūri is probably to be placed considerably later than his apparent date. As matters stand, we can hardly say more than that Kundakunda is probably older than Umāsvāti, himself of disputed date, and that he may be placed not later than the fourth century A.D. How much earlier must remain problematic.

Professor Upadhye gives us not merely a very careful account of Kundakunda and his works in general and the *Pravacanasāra* in particular, but also a most valuable summary of certain of the Jain metaphysical doctrines (pp. lxii-xcv). His most interesting contribution is perhaps his conclusion that the similarities of Jainism, Buddhism, and the Sāṃkhya philosophy point to the existence of a great Magadhan indigenous religion which flourished before the advent of the Aryans; to the commingling of the streams of Aryan and indigenous religion at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period we owe, on the one hand, the Ātmavidyā of the Upaniṣads, and the tenets of Jainism and Buddhism on the other.

The text of the Gāthās and the commentaries seems to have been carefully edited, and there are useful indexes of the leading technical terms and to the Introduction. The commentators are treated fully, and their dates as far as possible determined (pp. xcvi-cxi).

A. 539.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE TUHFA I SAMI (SECTION V) OF SAM MIRZA SAFAWI.  
 Edited in the original Persian, with an index, Persian  
 and English prefaces, variants and notes, by MAWLAWI  
 IQBAL HUSAIN.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. vii + iii + 193 + 8.  
 Patna : Printed at Shanti Press, Allahabad for Patna  
 University, 1934.

Professor E. G. Browne has remarked on the extraordinary dearth of notable poets in Persia during the Şafawī period, calling attention in particular to the great collection of names mentioned in the *Tuhfah i Sāmī* (a work which, in this connection, he recommends urgently for publication) among which, with certain well-known exceptions, none is first-rate. It is the peculiar merit of anthologies that they spare the discerning reader the very heavy and often fruitless task of ploughing through fat volumes of *dīwāns* in the hope of finding poetry of outstanding merit : while before the invention of printing, the anthologist secured immortality for an otherwise worthless poet in consideration of a few eminent verses. The *Tuhfah i Sāmī*, as an anthology, has the added distinction of having been compiled by a man who was himself a considerable poet. On the biographical side it may not bear comparison with other more celebrated *tadhkirahs* : of the quality of the poems quoted in it there can be no two opinions. Maulawī Iqbāl Husain has enriched our knowledge of Persian poetry, and deserves our warm thanks for a scholarly and usefully annotated and indexed text clearly and accurately printed. It is much to be hoped that he will realize his project of publishing the whole work, of which this is the most important part.

KITĀB AL-AWRĀK. (Section on Contemporary Poets.) By ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ AL-ṢŪLĪ. Edited by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE. 9½ × 6½, pp. xi + 256 + 17. London : Luzac & Co., 1934.

Although the larger part of it has been lost, what remains of the work bearing the above title is of great value for the literary history of the early 'Abbásid time. ṢŪLĪ, who lived in the latter half of the third and the first thirty-five years of the fourth century A.H., was an accomplished courtier, a famous chess-player, a connoisseur of poetry, and personally acquainted with the characters and circumstances of contemporaries about whom little or nothing is known from other sources. The present instalment—Mr. Dunne has recently edited another dealing with the Caliphs Ráđí and Muttaqí, and it may be hoped there is more to come—comprises only the final section of the book. This is mainly an anthology. The poets cited are arranged under the families to which they belonged, and since the author regarded lack of celebrity as a reason for preferential treatment in the allocation of space, the materials collected here are, on the whole, new and not likely to be preserved elsewhere. Ampler details concerning the writers would have been welcome, but the volume derives its importance from the fact that it illustrates a period of transition in poetical style ; sometimes, too, it has a more particular interest, e.g. the specimen of Abán's *mathnawí* version of *Kalíla wa-Dimna*, which must be one of the first experiments in this form. The editor earns high praise for the pains he has taken to correct the text now published with an Arabic introduction and indices. Owing to the often dubious legibility of the unique Cairo MS., on which it is based, his task was a difficult one, and he acknowledges help from Dr. Ṭáhá Ḥusayn and other distinguished Egyptian scholars. Many corrupt passages have been successfully emended ; a few cases left over for critics to try their hands on seem pretty desperate.

SON OF HEAVEN. A Biography of Li Shih-min, founder of the T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. FITZGERALD.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. ix + 232, pls. 3, maps 9, ill. 1. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

This is a remarkably well-written and interesting account of one whom many would consider to be the greatest of all Chinese emperors. Certainly the difficulties he had to contend with at the outset of his career were as formidable as can well be imagined. After the collapse of the Sui, no fewer than eleven pretenders to the throne had started up in various parts of the country, and it was only through the well-nigh superhuman efforts of Li shih-min that the house of T'ang emerged victorious. Mr. Fitzgerald has a keen eye for character, and makes us realize the cool daring of his hero all the better by contrasting it with the timidity and vacillation of his father, the nominal emperor, who had to be driven forward at each step. Yet as a politician, or rather as a courtier attempting to thwart the intrigues of his enemies, this brilliant strategist and man of action showed himself singularly inept. His indifference to personal danger and his imprudent clemency remind one not a little of Julius Caesar; and he came within an ace of sharing his fate. As it was, the tragedy of the Hsüan-wu Gate, in which his treacherous brothers both perished, might well have been avoided by a man with less goodness of heart and more aptitude for "the stealthy warfare of palace corridors". And the same lack of insight in domestic matters may have been partly responsible for the lamentable conspiracy and ruin of his son. In spite of these flaws, however, the name of Li Shih-min will always be honoured by the Chinese as that of a wise and beneficent ruler who inaugurated an era of unexampled prosperity and splendour.

The present work is based principally on Ssü-ma Kuang's *Tzū chih t'ung chien*, but judicious use has also been made of several other Chinese sources and European books. The campaigns and decisive battles are described with a fullness and accuracy rendered possible by the fact that the author

has himself been over much of the ground. A number of useful sketch-maps are interspersed, and there is an index with Chinese characters, in which, unfortunately, there are not a few mistakes.

A. 64.

L. GILES.

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CONFUCIANISM AND MODERN CHINA. The Lewis Fry Memorial Lectures, 1933-4, delivered at Bristol University by REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.  $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ , pp. 272, ill. 7. London: Victor Gollancz, 1934. 8s. 6d.

"What is Confucianism?" In attempting to answer this question Sir Reginald Johnston begins by citing fourteen short texts selected from the Confucian canon by an able and distinguished Chinese scholar for the guidance of school-teachers in Java. All but the first are taken from the Lun Yü, or Analects; the remaining one is from the Hsiao Ching, or Classic of Filial Piety, but has nothing to do with that subject. It will surprise many, indeed, to find no specific reference to filial piety in any of these sayings. The truth is that, in spite of a general belief to the contrary, this virtue was not greatly stressed by Confucius himself. It is largely due to the spurious Hsiao Ching that filial piety has come to be regarded, even by scholars like the author of this book, as the very main-spring of Confucian teaching. Neither can ancestor-worship, to which a chapter is devoted, be called a fundamental part of Confucian doctrine, as handed down in the Analects. It was an ancient cult which Confucius seems to have accepted without enthusiasm. Even political loyalty is not much emphasized by the Sage, who was more concerned with the duties of rulers to their subjects than vice versa. It is significant that in the chapter treating of this virtue not a single passage is quoted from the Analects: all are taken from Mencius or later works.

The old question whether Confucianism can be considered a religion receives no definite answer from Sir Reginald, who prefers to describe it as a Way of Life, and a very noble one, too. But he also quotes a remarkable passage from the Chi T'ung in the Book of Rites, beginning thus: "Religion (*chi*) is not a thing that comes to man from without. It has its origin in his innermost being and is born in his heart. When emotion stirs the heart there is an outward manifestation of it, and that, when ordered aright, is ritual." It should be said that the ordinary meaning of *chi* is "sacrificial offering", but here it clearly stands for something closely akin to "religion".

The second half of the book deals with the fortunes of Confucianism in history, and discusses the place that it will occupy in the future. The author rightly deplores the intolerance of the Kuomintang in 1927, when the portrait of the Sage was torn down and trampled underfoot at Hankow, and the bombardment of Ch'ü Fou, the holy city of Confucian tradition, by the armies of the "Christian General" in 1930. But reaction has set in, and there are good grounds for a moderate optimism. The altars of Confucius are still warm; and "it will be an evil day for China—and not for China only but for the whole world—when they grow stone cold".

The book is written in the pure, flowing English which we have learned to expect from Sir Reginald's pen; his polemical instincts find full scope in these pages; his arguments are as crushing, and his irony as deadly as ever. The copious notes at the end of the book testify to wide research and careful reading. For easy reference, it is a pity that they are numbered according to chapters, and not serially throughout.

A. 291.

L. GILES.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RUBA'IIYYÁT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. Transcribed and edited with introductory notes by Dr. BARTHOLOMEW CSILLIK. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. lxii + 168. Travaux de la bibliothèque universitaire de Szeged, No. 4. Szeged, 1934. London: Luzac and Co., 1934.

This volume gives autographed transcripts of three Omarian MSS. representing different types of textual tradition (Suppl. Pers. 1417, Anc. Fonds 349, and Suppl. Pers. 823), which the author designates as PA, PB, and PC respectively, together with an elaborate analysis on the lines laid down by Professor Christensen. No doubt such investigations can do something towards separating the wheat from the tares, so that Dr. Csillik's work is not without interest even for those who regard the problem as ultimately insoluble.

A. 453.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

#### MEDIEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, RAI BAHADUR, late Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Introduction by R. L. HOBSON, Keeper of Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. pp. xiv + 75 + 1, pls. xxiv. London: Kegan Paul, 1936. 10s. 6d.

The nucleus of the present important collection of Indian figure sculpture at the British Museum came from the specimens acquired by an enthusiastic eccentric, General Charles Stuart, who died over a century ago. This has been largely added to in later years, and the collection as a whole is now an extremely fine one.

An authoritative description of its contents was badly needed, and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has produced a most valuable monograph. A trained archæologist and scholar, he is able to explain clearly and concisely a number of

points which it is necessary to grasp in order to appreciate the peculiar conditions under which Indian sculpture evolved, such matters, for instance, as the predominating influence of notions of auspicious signs in determining the character of early Buddhistic and Jaina images.

After a chapter on the origins of figure sculpture and the early periods he passes to his main subject, the Gupta and later medieval art, which he treats with special reference to the examples in the Museum. Some of these are described in detail, with a good deal of information on provenance, dates, and the various motives. The concluding chapter deals with the numerous examples from Orissa.

The book is enriched by literary references and quotations, and with its series of fine plates it should appeal to many besides scholars—to all in fact who wish to know more about a collection of singular beauty and variety.

N.R. 39.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

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DIE ARBEITERWANDERUNGEN IN SÜDOSTASIEN. Von Dr. KARL JOSEPH PELZER.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , pp. vi + 126, maps 3 (in the text). Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1935.

This little book deals with the migration of labour, with special reference to India, Burma, Ceylon, China, British Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, in that order. An introductory chapter explains the causes of this migration, the chief of which is the great difference in density of population between one region and another, coupled with the consequent demand for labour when European, or other, capital requires its aid in the development of the sparsely inhabited ones. India, China, and to a less degree Java (all countries containing over-populated areas) are the chief sources of supply. India, besides furnishing migrant labour for its own agricultural requirements, renders the same service to Ceylon, Burma, and British Malaya (which, however, also receives an even

greater number of labourers from South-Eastern China), while the Javanese for the most part go to Sumatra, where they now very much outnumber the Chinese immigrants.

The author deals with his subject historically and describes the various methods of recruiting and the contractual terms of engagement, both of which factors have been modified from time to time by legislation and otherwise; and he also gives brief accounts of the economic conditions of the several countries concerned. His statements are supported throughout by statistics, and these are further supplemented by an appendix containing six statistical tables showing the immigration and emigration of labourers in connection with Assam, Ceylon, British Malaya, Eastern Sumatra, and Java. In short, the book contains a great mass of information in a very small space and represents a considerable amount of research; the bibliography of authorities cited in the text includes no less than 185 items.

A. 578.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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INDIAN INFLUENCES IN OLD-BALINESE ART. By Dr. WILHELM F. STUTTERHEIM. 10 × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. xiii + 41, pls. xxiii, map 1. London: The India Society, 1935. 15s.

This small book is a valuable introduction to our acquaintance with the art, and in particular the sculpture, of Bali. The text deals with the history, religion, and antiquities of the island, starting from the period before the introduction of Indian influences and tracing their development to the fourteenth century or thereabouts. The oldest stone sculptures found in Bali are closely connected in style with those of Central Java of the eighth and ninth centuries; and in them Indian, and in particular remote Gupta, influences are clearly traceable. Subsequently, later Javanese and local Balinese tendencies modified this art in directions leading it further away from its ultimately Indian sources. The historical chapter gives us an insight into the political relations between

Bali and its larger neighbour Java and indicates the causes which influenced its art and maintained its religion of Hinduism (in which the cult of deceased kings was an important factor), while Java became Muslim. Long before that last period, however, a native Balinese tendency in art had shown itself and eventually it prevailed; but in the medieval phase of its development Balinese art retained definite traces of Indian influence, which can be observed in the excellent and well-chosen illustrations included in this work.

A. 468.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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ADATRECHTBUNDELS. XXXVIII: Gajo-, Alas- en Batak-landen.  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ , pp. vi + 511, map 1. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936. Gld. 5.

This volume is concerned mainly with the Batak districts of Northern Sumatra and consists to a great extent of legal documents in Malay or Batak, generally accompanied by Dutch translations and recording decisions in matters of customary law or embodying contracts or agreements, while others take the form of a statute declaring what the law is. There is also a good deal of historical information, and a number of pedigrees of local chiefs are given in the text as well as a good deal of information about tribal subdivisions. In short, like its predecessors, this volume is a valuable contribution to the ethnography of the Dutch East Indies.

A. 597.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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PRIMITIVE LAW. By A. S. DIAMOND.  $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. x + 451. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935. 25s.

The chief purpose of this extremely interesting and valuable work is to refute certain propositions (too numerous to be quoted here) formulated by Maine with regard to the origin and development of ancient law and in particular the fundamental one that "law is derived from pre-existing rules

of conduct which are at the same time legal, moral, and religious in nature". With this end in view the author describes and analyses with great acumen the early "codes", such as those of Hammurabi, the Assyrians, Hittites, Hebrews, Romans, and Western Europe in the "dark age", as also the laws of Manu, and cites examples from the unwritten laws of primitive tribes in various parts of the world. After some chapters bridging the gap between the last named and the codes and dealing with the establishment of courts, he then proceeds to discuss several sections of law, e.g. those concerned with marriage, inheritance and property, criminal and civil law, procedure and contract, in considerable detail.

The careful, systematic, and critical analysis and classification of all this material constitutes the bulk and in my view the most valuable part of this important work. It brings together and collates a mass of information most of which was unknown three quarters of a century ago, when Maine published his *Ancient Law*, and it certainly seems to make some of his theories untenable. But so far as the first one, quoted above, is concerned, I am disposed to think that it may still hold good if referred to a remoter past. In really primitive communities it seems highly improbable that there was any clear differentiation between law, morality, and religion. As a lawyer, the primitive savage must have been in a position somewhat analogous to that of M. Jourdain, who had talked prose all his life without being aware of it.

Sometimes the author appears to be trying to prove too much, e.g. in denying that the abolition of slavery in 1833 was influenced by religious opinion (p. 168); and if, as is the fact, some ecclesiastics have often opposed reforms (pp. 168-9), this only proves that they were behind the times and misinterpreted the ethical implications of the religion they professed.

A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE MIGHTY KINGDOMS OF JAPAN AND SIAM. By FRANÇOIS CARON and JOOST SCHOUTEN. Reprinted from the English edition of 1663 with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes by C. R. BOXER.  $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. cxxix + 197, pls. 13, maps 7. London: The Argonaut Press, 1935. 42s.

This beautifully produced volume is very fully documented. The actual reprint of Capt. Roger Marley's English version of the two Dutch works forms about a third of it. The rest consists in the main of a detailed and very interesting life of Caron (to which three appendixes add further information about him and his family) and a briefer account of Schouten, notes explanatory of the reprinted texts, a glossary of Japanese terms, and a list of officials (Japanese and Dutch), two bibliographies and an index.

All are very good, and the life of Caron is particularly interesting, for he had a remarkable career, rising from being a cook's mate on a Dutch ship to the high position of Director-General at Batavia, and then after a number of years in private life in Holland making a fresh start in the service of France. His account of Japan, where he lived for many years, having first visited it in 1619, is of permanent value, giving as it does a great deal of information about the condition of the country in the period preceding 1636 when it was written. To it are here appended a number of shorter documents by other hands, all relating to Japan and included in some of the earlier editions of Caron's monograph. Schouten's description of Siam, though also valuable, is much briefer and to the story of his life a list of his reports is added. His text is dated in the same year as Caron's work.

The notes by the editor are numerous and very helpful, especially those which deal with Japan. With Siam he appears to be less intimately acquainted. Under note 145 (p. 133), Iangonia (p. 95), which on p. 102 is spelt Jangoma, is evidently Chiangmai, and Tangon (which is spelt Tangou on p. 95, though on p. 102 it reappears as Tangon) may be Taungu, in

Burma. Among the place names on p. 96 which the editor has not attempted to identify there is no difficulty in recognizing Pitsanulok, Sawankhalok, Sukhothai, Kamphengphet, Nakhon Sawan, Pichai, Pichit, Patalung, and Ratburi. Pypry represents the Phiphri mentioned in Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, 1890, pp. 7, 228, 240, 244, 398 (in the last case spelt Phriphri) and in De Choisy's *Journal du voyage de Siam*, 1741, where it is called Pipeli (p. 225), Pepeli (p. 379), and Pitpri (p. 397). It appears to have been situated on or near the coast somewhere to the west of the Menam. Tenou is probably Tannaw or Tanão (cited as an old name of Tenasserim by Anderson, op. cit., p. 13) and Martenayo seems to be his Maritanau (ibid., p. 15), i.e. Marit [= Mergui] + Tannaw, although "Mergy" (which, by a misprint, is identified in note 148 of the work under review as "Merguli") is also mentioned by Schouten, who may have collected these names from various sources. His Mormelon (p. 95) may represent Maulmain, in Burma. Kedah (note 134) is not one of the Federated Malay States, and it is odd that the word "Flamin" (p. 105) should not have been recognized by the editor as the Latin *flamen*. But these are very minor defects in an excellent work.

A. 489.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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1. AKṢARA. A forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy. By P. M. MODI. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 178. Baroda : Baroda State Press, 1932.
  2. DER SANG DES HEHR-ERHABENEN. Die Bhagavad-Gītā. Übertragen und erläutert von RUDOLF OTTO. 8 × 5, pp. 171. Stuttgart : W. Kohlhammer, 1935. RM. 4.50.
  3. DIE URGESTALT DER BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ. Von RUDOLF OTTO. Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge, 176. 9½ × 6, pp. 46. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934. RM. 1.50.

4. DIE LEHRTRAKTATE DER BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ. Von RUDOLF OTTO. Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge, 179. 9½ × 6, pp. 47. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1935. RM. 1.50.

The first book on this list is a doctoral thesis of unusual merit and deserves a brief, if belated, notice. The author starts from the just point that progress in the interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā* has not corresponded to the amount of work published on the subject, because of the failure to determine the precise meaning of the technical terms it employs, and he accordingly examines the use of the word *akṣara* in the literature extending from the oldest Upaniṣads to the *Brahmasūtras*. In the course of the discussion, in which he criticizes somewhat bluntly the views of previous scholars, he makes many acute and valuable remarks ; and his method is to be commended, in that it is only by analysis and comparison of all the occurrences of a term in this period that its meaning or meanings can be settled. But he has in my opinion failed to establish his main point. Though, according to the *Ahīrbudhnyasamhitā*, *akṣara* was one of the topics treated in the *Śaṣṭitantra*, and though it is true that the position of the early Sāṃkhya theorists and contemporary philosophers is not to be grasped without a comprehension of the significance of the term, it never formed the central point of any system of real importance, and an inquiry, which, like Dr. Modi's, is conducted without a preliminary understanding of the ideas at the root of early Sāṃkhya, cannot but be abortive. He has in fact forced his interpretation on the texts, instead of letting the texts give birth to the interpretation. He would probably, too, have avoided some misapprehensions if he had extended his inquiries to all texts dealing with early Sāṃkhya, not merely to a rather arbitrary selection of them, and his method is not applied with the requisite strictness ; this is specially marked in his habit of replacing the original terms with synonyms to suit his views, when he is giving the effect of original passages. Thus, to

take a single instance, he persistently uses for the Sāṅkhya soul the word *jīva*, though *Īśvarakṛṣṇa* avoids its employment and its significance in early Sāṅkhya is entirely different, a point the present reviewer hopes to explain elsewhere in due course. If not altogether successful then, the thesis at any rate gives rise to the hope that, as he pushes his studies further, Dr. Modi will produce work of permanent value.

The next book on this list can hardly escape the criticism quoted above from Dr. Modi on the work of scholars on the *Gītā*; the author does, however, make some addition to our understanding of the text by his comparisons with later writings of the *bhakti* school. In particular his handling of canto xii is illuminating, and his solution of the difficult verse, xii, 12, sound and so simple that now one may wonder why no one ever thought of it before. But the main purpose of the translation and of the other two books by the same author is to propound a theory of the composition of the *Gītā*, according to which hardly any of it belongs to the primitive text and the contents consist mainly of tracts emanating from writers of different schools and foisted on to the original work. The scheme is elaborated with much ingenuity and avoids the obvious defects of the late Professor Garbe's dichotomy of the text; but that the *Gītā* is a symposium of different and opposed views seems to me quite impossible and to be based on a fundamental misunderstanding of Indian thought processes. Some of the details are, however, valuable, and it is reasonable to hold that the author has in several cases hit the mark in stigmatizing certain verses as glosses or interpolations, while those, who, like the present reviewer, can only go a small part of the way with him, will benefit from working out their reasons for the rejection of his views.

621, A. 473, A. 565, A. 566.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTORY. By Dr. B. A. SALETORE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. 163 + xv. Lahore, 1935.

In this little work the author professes to aim at giving a short history of such of the wild tribes which, so far as available information about them is concerned, "have added to the annals of the country".

He deals more particularly with the tribes of Western and Southern India, up to the end of the eighteenth century. Commencing with a short study of the attitude of Hindu Rulers in the past towards the somewhat unruly dwellers in the forest tracts, Dr. Saletore proceeds to describe and illustrate with many valuable references to published works the Kirātas, the Śābaras, and the Bedars or Berads. A number of less important tribes are grouped together in the concluding chapter.

In his brief reference to Aśoka's attitude towards the wild tribes the writer makes no mention of the earlier attitude which the great emperor, on conversion, publicly regretted. We are given some interesting details of how the rulers of Vijayanagar regarded them. To these latter rulers the Beds or Bedars must have proved most unruly. As recently as forty years ago serious police measures had to be taken in the Belgaum and Dhārwar districts against a rising of this tribe. It may be remarked that in these districts the common form of Bedar is still Berad, and that the reference quoted to *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 363-4, in chapter iv, is a slip of Dr. Saletore's. The latter seems to have overlooked the connection between the Rāmoshi and the Berad, which is of the utmost significance in tracing the tribes' habitat.

It seems unlikely that the Villavars or Billavars of Madras are, as the writer asserts on p. 76, identical with the Bhils. No evidence is adduced for such an assumption beyond the nominal resemblance. The hare fable quoted on p. 78 as common to the Deccan and Vijayanagar is a well-known tradition of Ahmadabad in the Bombay Presidency. The author seems to assume that Vālmiki was a Bedar, though,

on the grounds on which he makes this assertion, Vālmiki would equally be a Rāmoshi, and was probably neither. The work contains much information of value ; but it would have proved of wider interest if more material had been collocated from published ethnological records of recent date. Such as it is, however, the work will prove of great use, by its amplitude of references, to all students of the tribes of Southern and Western India, who will be grateful to the author for his fruitful research.

A. 491.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE YAZIDĪS PAST AND PRESENT. By ISMĀ'ĪL BEG CHOL. Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series, No. 6. Edited by COSTI K. ZURAYK. Beirut : American Press, 1934.

Mr. Zurayk has edited three Arabic texts dealing with the Yazidīs. The first and third are historical, the former, which is the longest (72 pages), is the autobiography of Ismā'il Beg Chol, a Yazidī Amīr, who died in 1933, and throws light on contemporary history. The third is the shortest text (ten pages) and deals with a few events of the 150 years of Yazidī history in Jabal Sinjār.

The second text (thirty-six pages) deals with Yazidī doctrines and religious and social customs and, although repeating much that has already been written by European writers about the sect, will be very useful to those interested in the Yazidīs, if only for the fact that the author himself belongs to that sect.

Apart from the historical value of these texts, they also offer some interest to the philologist. The following are only a few of the words that offer interest and show to what an extent colloquial has been affected by other languages :—

p. 6: معركة, corruption for معرقة, probably a synonym

for عراقية or عراقية "a woollen pad placed under the saddle";  
 (مرور) تذكرة for تذكرة passport or *laisser-passer*.

p. 13 : بايتون, Turkish = فايتون, French = Phaéton.

p. 14 : فاملية, Italian = *famiglia*.

p. 17 : مناط, Italian = *moneta*.

p. 23 : الشمندير, French = *chemin de fer*.

p. 25 : ماصة, Italian = *messa*, explained by the editor  
 by another Italian word طاولة, *table*.

p. 27 : مسافر خانه guest-room or reception-room.

p. 27 : كارت, French = visiting-card.

p. 31 : وراور, pl. of ورور = revolver.

p. 33 : ذبون, Turkish = waistcoat.

p. 41 : قابوط, Italian = *cappotto*. Written also in Arabic  
 كَبُوت.

p. 46 : قباقيب for قواقيب.

The edition is well printed and annotated; there is an  
 introduction in Arabic and a good index of names of persons.

A. 422.

J. HEYWORTH DUNNE.

# NOTES OF THE QUARTER

## ANNIVERSARY MEETING

*14th May, 1936*

Professor Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting of 9th May, 1935.

In common with the remainder of the British Empire, we mourn the loss of our beloved Sovereign King George V, one of whose titles was "Emperor of India". On the occasion of the consequent Accession of H.M. King Edward VIII, the following addresses of condolence and loyalty to His Majesty and to The Queen Mary were approved at a General Meeting of the Society on 13th February, 1936, and forwarded to the Home Secretary on 13th March, 1936.

"The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's loyal and devoted Subjects, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society in Meeting assembled, solicit permission to tender to your Majesty and the Royal Family with our humble duty our heart-felt participation in the great personal and national grief caused by the lamented death of our late Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth.

In addition to the sorrow which we share with the rest of his subjects we deplore the loss of our Society's Patron, gratefully acknowledging the honour accorded us by his acceptance of that title, and the evidence which it furnished of his interest in and sympathy with the studies which we pursue and endeavour to further.

To your gracious Majesty we solicit permission to tender the respectful expression of our loyalty and congratulation on your Majesty's accession to the throne of your Ancestors.

We gratefully remember the honour conferred upon our Society by your Majesty in delivering the inaugural Address on the occasion of our Centenary celebration, and therein communicating

to us the impressions left by your travels in India; and conscious of the deep interest felt by your Majesty in all that concerns your Eastern Dominions, we pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take this Society under that August Patronage which it has uninterruptedly enjoyed under your Majesty's Royal Predecessors since the granting of our Charter in the year 1823.

We desire humbly to assure your Majesty of our earnest wish and confident hope that your reign over a loyal Commonwealth of Nations may be long, prosperous, and glorious.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland this 12th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirty-six.

To her Most Excellent Majesty The Queen Mary.  
Madam,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in General Meeting assembled, solicit permission to express our profound sorrow at the great loss which your Majesty, the Royal Family, and the British Commonwealth of Nations have sustained in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth, whose memory will ever be cherished throughout the dominions over which he ruled, and in whom this Society, whose membership is about equally divided between this country and the Indian Empire, deprecates its Patron. The Society gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious Message to the Nation and desires to be included among those to whom it was addressed.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland this 12th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirty-six."

The following replies were received:—

"Home Office,  
Whitehall.

17th March, 1936.

Sir,

I have had the honour to lay before the King the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of the lamented death of

His late Majesty King George the Fifth and have received the King's Commands to convey to you His Majesty's grateful thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN SIMON.

The President,

The Royal Asiatic Society.

Home Office,

Whitehall,

17th March, 1936.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Address of Condolence of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth has been laid before Queen Mary, whose grateful thanks I am to convey to you.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

R. R. SCOTT.

The President,

The Royal Asiatic Society."

We also regret to announce the loss by death of the under-mentioned Honorary Members and Members during the year :—

H.M. The King of Egypt.

Mr. R. P. Dewhurst.

Mr. Justin C. W. Alvarez.

Mr. R. S. Greenshields.

Professor J. H. Breasted.

Il Duca di Sermoneta.

Professor J. Charpentier.

Sir John P. Thompson.

Mr. Sati K. Ray Chaudhuri.

Mr. A. C. Woolner.

Oriental Scholarship has suffered a grievous loss and the Council of the Society will mourn the death of two of its trusted advisers.

The following Members have resigned :—

Dr. Upendranath Banerjee.	Miss M. E. Middlemore.
Mr. K. Bonerjee.	Rev. Professor A. C. Moule.
Mrs. S. Bonerjee.	Mr. H. H. V. Noone.
Sir F. de Filippi.	Mr. B. N. Reu.
Raja of Hindol.	Mr. J. K. Rideout.
Baron Hayashi.	Pandit P. L. Sharma.
Mrs. H. Irwell.	Mr. A. Silcock.
Mr. Sobhan Singh Ji.	Dr. H. M. Wise.
Dean Kirkpatrick.	Mr. G. Yates.
Mr. E. W. Mead.	

The following Members have taken up their election :—

*As Resident Members*

Miss G. Ashmead-Bartlett.	Miss M. L. Hambleton.
Mr. C. Haller.	

*As Non-Resident Members*

Mr. A. S. Atiya.	Miss Winifred Lamb.
Dr. Upendranath Banerjee.	Professor G. H. Luce.
Mr. A. F. L. Beeston.	Mr. L. A. Lyall.
Miss Noor-un-Nisa Begum.	Mr. A. R. A. Memon.
Rev. Dr. Matthew Black.	Mr. A. M. Pathak.
Rai Br. G. Bonerjee.	Rev. J. Gibson Philip.
Mr. E. Boyd-Morrison.	Mr. F. C. Rastogi.
Mr. Ramanathan Chettiar.	Mr. G. Sarma.
Mr. T. W. Clark.	Dr. H. Sastri.
Mr. M. K. Dutt.	Mr. Frank Sell.
Mr. C. J. Gadd.	Mlle. M. A. Serin.
Mr. S. H. Hansford.	Mr. A. G. Shirreff.
Habib Gazale Bey.	Dr. Margaret Smith.
Mr. E. B. Howell.	Mr. V. Shrivastava.
Mr. S. M. Jaffar.	Mr. R. Sundaravaradan.
Rai Br. R. K. Jalan.	Mr. A. Yellappa.
Mr. K. L. Jain.	Miss B. D. de Zoete.
Mr. K. M. Joglekar.	

The following member joined and resigned during the year :—

Mr. L. Newton Hayes.

*As Library Associates*

Mr. G. Brackenbury.  
Mr. M. S. Collis  
Mr. Serajul Haque.  
Mrs. E. T. Hibbert.

Miss V. Morrison-Bell.  
Mr. A. Upham Pope.  
Miss Chao Yueh Tseng.  
Mr. M. W. Wynne.

*As Student Associates*

Mr. K. J. Dover.  
Miss A. K. Lambton.

Mrs. W. W. Stifler.

*As Resident Compounder*

Mr. C. A. Kincaid.

*As Non-Resident Compounders*

Mr. K. N. Singh.

Rev. Canon Anderson Meaden.

The President and Council have elected Professor H. E. Winlock of New York, Professor Georges Coedès of Hanoi, Professor Wilhelm Geiger of Munich, and Professor A. J. Wensinck of Leiden, to take the places of Professor Breasted, Professor Finot, Professor Sylvain Lévi, and Il Duca di Sermoneta as Honorary Members. Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini was elected in place of Professor Ignazio Guidi at the end of last year.

Under the terms of Rule 25a, 28 persons ceased to be Members of the Society owing to the non-payment of their annual subscription. Last year the number was 55.

The total number of Members is 764, being a decrease of 8. The number of subscribing libraries is 238, or 17 less than in 1934. In cases where resignations have occurred, the reason given is invariably that expenses must be cut down because of the uncertainty of the general outlook, and is often accompanied by a generous tribute to the efficiency and competence of the Society's activities.

The number of Library Associates under Rule 16a has increased since 1934 from 6 to 22, and Student Associates from 1 to 4, thanks to the efforts of Professor Yetts and Mr. Sidney Smith, who have brought the Society's Library to the notice of their students.

Every effort has been made to reduce expenditure, and it has also been found necessary to continue for the present the reduction of the size of the *Journal* to 800 pages.

At the same time the matter submitted for publication continues to be of a high order both in quantity and quality. A welcome sign of encouragement is the fact that more Oriental Scholars from Europe and America have sought membership during the year.

The allowance for binding books in the Library has again been limited as in 1934 to those which needed it and those loaned to foreign University Libraries. Similarly, new purchases have been limited, though the Library is badly in need of assistance in both of these departments. A small allotment of funds for aid to the librarian has, however, been necessitated, as the number of scholars using the reading room is steadily increasing and the work of keeping them supplied is growing heavier. The number of additions to the Library now amounts to some 400 a year. The number of visits to the Library paid by students has risen to 945, from 730 in 1934 and a previous average of about 500. The number of books lent out was 816 as against 613 the year before. In addition to the above, 64 were lent to affiliated members through the National Central Library, and 67 were borrowed by our Members from affiliated libraries through that Library, showing a small increase on the previous year.

Two manuscripts were lent to universities for the use of scholars : one to Berlin and one to Birmingham. Both have been returned.

Photostat copies of three MSS. were made and sent to students abroad : to Calcutta University Library, to Lenin-grad for the U.S.S.R. Commission for the Advancement of Scientists, and to Tokio University. During the month of May, Professor Asahi of Tokio University was introduced by a Councillor to the Library. He desired to see some Malay MSS., and as a result of his examination he requested that a reproduction might be sent to him for use at the University.

Mutual exchange of Journals with other Societies, Universities, or Institutions at their request has been authorized by the Council in eleven instances during the year. In addition the exchange with the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has been revived, the publication of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* having now been renewed by the Academy.

*Lectures.*—In order to participate in the celebrations of the 800th anniversary of the birth of the Jewish physician, jurist, and philosopher, Moses Maimonides, the Society obtained the services of two experts, Dr. A. S. Yahuda and Dr. M. Gaster, who delivered lectures dealing with his career and achievements. For the latter it secured the co-operation of the Society for Biblical Study represented by the Rev. Canon W. Emery Barnes, who took the chair. For the former the Society was honoured by the Chairmanship of the Egyptian Minister, Hasan Sabri Bey, who addressed the meeting in English and Arabic.

The undermentioned lectures were also given before the Society during the past Session; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides.

“Finno-Ugrian Philology,” by Mr. Alan S. C. Ross.

“The Joseph Narrative in the Light of the Egyptian Monuments,” by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

“Buddhist Sculpture in Siam,” by Mr. Reginald le May.

“Bull Worship in Ancient Egypt,” by Mr. H. W. Fairman.

“Some Coins of the Mauryas and Sungas,” by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

“A newly explored Route of Ancient Cultural Expansion,” by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales.

“In Search of Stone Age Man in the Near East,” by Miss Dorothy Garrod.

“Indian Philosophical Mentality,” by Professor S. N. Dasgupta.

“Moses Maimonides, the Philosopher and the Physician,” by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

# ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

## RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1934						
On Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue . . . . .	250	0	0			
On Compound Subscriptions Account . . . . .	471	13	3			
	721	13	3			
Less: Over-expended on General Account . . . . .	639	16	8			
				81	16	7
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members . . . . .	245	14	0			
Non-Resident Members . . . . .	789	6	0			
Resident Compounders . . . . .	18	18	0			
Non-Resident Compounders . . . . .	82	4	0			
Students and Miscellaneous . . . . .	38	11	8			
				1,174	13	8
RENTS RECEIVED . . . . .				616	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India . . . . .	315	0	0			
" Federated Malay States . . . . .	40	0	0			
" Straits Settlements . . . . .	20	0	0			
" Hong Kong . . . . .	25	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS . . . . .				9	8	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions . . . . .	407	10	2			
Additional Copies sold . . . . .	19	3	8			
Pamphlets sold . . . . .	5	2	11			
				431	16	9
DIVIDENDS . . . . .				83	7	0
INCOME TAX RECOVERED FOR THE TWO YEARS						
ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1935 . . . . .				5	16	6
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES . . . . .				11	4	
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES . . . . .				5	8	
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS . . . . .				4	7	5
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT . . . . .				14	6	
SALE OF OLD BOOKS . . . . .				12	17	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS . . . . .				39	17	6
				2,861	11	11
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1935						
Over-Expenditure on General Account . . . . .	834	19	10			
Less: Carnegie Grant for printing						
Catalogue £250 0 0 . . . . .						
Compounded Subscriptions £572 15 3 . . . . .	822	15	3			
				12	4	7
Represented by:						
Bank Account overdrawn . . . . .	56	8	4			
Less: Cash at Post Office . . . . .						
Savings Bank . . . . .	29	18	4			
Cash in hand . . . . .	14	5	5			
	44	3	9			
	12	4	7	£2,873	16	6

## INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.  
 £1,426 ls. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.  
 £777 ls. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

# FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1935

## PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax . . . . .	502	2	3			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants . . . . .	114	9	1			
Gas and Light, do. . . . .	68	16	4			
Coal and Coke, do. . . . .	33	14	8			
Telephone . . . . .	14	7	0			
Cleaning . . . . .	8	5	6			
Insurance . . . . .	32	15	5			
Repairs and Renewals . . . . .	33	7	6			
				807	17	9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND . . . . .				30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES . . . . .				803	0	10
PRINTING AND STATIONERY . . . . .				55	13	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing . . . . .	859	19	8			
Postage . . . . .	62	0	0			
				921	19	8
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE . . . . .				77	16	10
GENERAL POSTAGE . . . . .				57	13	2
AUDIT FEE (including Taxation Work) . . . . .				5	5	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—						
Teas . . . . .	26	11	2			
Lectures . . . . .	14	14	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance . . . . .	19	18	0			
Other General Expenditure . . . . .	52	16	7			
				113	19	9
				2,873	16	6

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.  
R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

# SPECIAL FUNDS

## ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS				PAYMENTS			
1935. Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	1935. Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		327	3 6	STORAGE OF STOCK . . . . .		14	10 7
SALES (NET) . . . . .		52	0 3	BINDING 25 VOL. XIX . . . . .		12	6
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT . . . . .		1	5 0	PRINTING 500 AND BINDING			
				100 VOL. XXXIII . . . . .		145	3 3
				BALANCE CARRIED TO . . . . .		220	2 5
				SUMMARY . . . . .		£380	8 9
	£380	8	9				

## ROYAL ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		150	16 9	BALANCE CARRIED TO . . . . .		159	2 6
SALES (NET) . . . . .		8	5 9	SUMMARY . . . . .		£159	2 6
	£159	2	6				

## SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND . . . . .		220	2 5	CASH AT BANK—			
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND . . . . .		159	2 6	On Current Account . . . . .	129	4	11
	£379	4	11	On Deposit Account . . . . .	250	0	0
					£379	4	11

## LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		301	11 7	BALANCE REPRESENTED			
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT . . . . .		30	10 6	BY £410 1s. 1d. 34% . . . . .		422	2 1
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE-INVESTED . . . . .		14	7 0	WAR LOAN . . . . .		14	7 0
	£436	9	1	CASH AT BANK . . . . .			
					£436	9	1

# TRUST FUNDS

## PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

1935. Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	1935. Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		144	14 4	BINDING 25 VOL. XIII . . . . .		1	5 0
SALES (NET) . . . . .		18	1 11	PRINTING 500 AND BINDING		69	6 6
DIVIDENDS . . . . .		18	0 0	100 VOL. XIV . . . . .		110	4 9
	£180	16	3	BALANCE CARRIED TO . . . . .		£180	16 3
				SUMMARY . . . . .			

## GOLD MEDAL FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		69	13 5	CASH PRIZE . . . . .		38	17 6
DIVIDENDS . . . . .		9	15 0	BALANCE CARRIED TO . . . . .		40	10 11
	£79	8	5	SUMMARY . . . . .		£79	8 5

## UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE . . . . .		157	3 6	CASH PRIZE . . . . .		40	0 0
DIVIDENDS . . . . .		20	15 4	BALANCE CARRIED TO . . . . .		137	18 10
	£177	18	10	SUMMARY . . . . .		£177	18 10

# SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.				Dec. 31.			
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	110	4	9	CASH AT BANK ON CUR-			
GOLD MEDAL FUND	40	10	11	RENT ACCOUNT	238	14	6
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE							
ESSAY FUND	137	18	10				
	<u>£288</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>		<u>£288</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>

## TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).  
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).  
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 £40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).  
 I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates of the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.  
 Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.  
 R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

## BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
1935. Jan. 1.			1935. Dec. 31.		
BALANCE	6	18 0	CASH AT BANK ON CUR-	8	7 4
DIVIDENDS	1	9 4	RENT ACCOUNT	<u>£8</u>	<u>7 4</u>
	<u>£5</u>	<u>7 4</u>			
INVESTMENT—					
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.					

## JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.			10% COMMISSION ON 1934		
BALANCE	295	5 2	SALES	4	7 5
SALES (NET)	58	3 6	PRINTING 1000 AND BIND-		
DIVIDENDS	203	14 4	ING 500 VOL. XIII	209	8 6
INCOME TAX RECOVERED			PRINTING 500 AND BIND-		
FOR THE TWO YEARS			ING 100 VOL. XIV	131	15 0
ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1935	69	10 5	BINDING 25 VOL. I	2	12 3
			BINDING 25 VOL. II	1	2 0
			COMMISSIONS ON SALE OF		
			VOL. XIII	1	19 7
			SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL		
			STUDIES—Research	50	0 0
			SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL		
			STUDIES—Bursary	20	0 0
			SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL		
			STUDIES—Scholarship	30	0 0
			SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL		
			STUDIES—Lectures	50	0 0
			BALANCE, CASH AT BANK		
			ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	125	8 8
	<u>£626</u>	<u>13 5</u>		<u>£626</u>	<u>13 5</u>

## INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942-62.  
 £1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940-60.  
 £1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.  
 £1,143 6s. 3d. India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.  
 £700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.  
 £45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class "B".  
 £253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.  
 Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.  
 R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

"The recently found Gospel Fragments," by Dr. H. Idris Bell.

"Further Discoveries at Jericho," by Professor John Garstang.

"Maimonides and his Works," by Dr. M. Gaster.

"The Art of the Chinese Painter," by Miss Helen Fernald.

"The Temples of Yunnan," by Madame Gabrielle Vassal.

The new Universities Prize Essay Competition, founded by the generosity of certain Ruling Chiefs and Gentlemen of Southern India, has proved more attractive than the Public School Prize Essay Competition which it has superseded. The fifth competition was held during the year. For 1935 the subject chosen by the committee of examiners appointed by your Council was "The Causes of the Decay of the Mogul Empire", and the prize of £20 and a Diploma was awarded to Mr. Evan Glyndwr Jones of Bristol University. The subject for the next essay is "The Portuguese in India".

The publications of the Society for the year 1935, in addition to the *Journal*, consist of the following :—

Oriental Translation Fund—

32. Thomas, F. W. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, vol. i (vol. ii in the Press).

33. Grierson, Sir G. A. *Puruṣa Parīkṣā, or the Test of a Man*.

Prize Publication Fund—

14. Lichtenstädter, I. *Women in the Aiyām al-'Arab*.

Forlong Fund—

14. Dave, T. N. *A Study of the Gujarātī Language in the Sixteenth Century, V.S.*

As was foreshadowed in the Annual Report last May, a fresh trust is in course of being founded through the munificence of Dr. Bimala C. Law of Calcutta to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism, and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. It is to be entitled "The Dr. B. C. Law

Trust Series". Further information will be given when the matter is completed and the necessary regulations framed.

The preparation of the Library Catalogue progresses slowly. The thanks of the Society are due to the Members of Council who are so kindly giving of their valuable time to the correction of the proofs; namely, Mr. Ellis, Dr. Randle, and Dr. Barnett.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates for his skilful assistance to the Editor of the *Journal*.

The Society is greatly indebted also to Mr. and Madame Shelley Wang for their kindly sympathy with our needs in connection with the Chinese Library, including the completion and correction of the catalogue of the Chinese books and MSS. and the card index so as to facilitate the correct printing of the list in due course.

By Rules 28-38 of the Society, certain annual changes occur automatically in the constitution of the members of your Council. Dr. A. M. Blackman on his appointment to the Liverpool Professorship of Egyptology resigned his membership of Council, Professor Moule also resigned, and Sir John Thompson and Mr. Dewhurst have died. Mr. C. J. Gadd, Professor Yetts, Sir John Marshall, and Dr. E. Hamilton Johnston were respectively appointed by the Council under Rule 28 to fill these vacancies for the remainder of the year. The Council now recommends the re-election of the same gentlemen to the Council. One Member of Council, Dr. H. W. Bailey, also retires by rotation, and he being ineligible for re-election, your Council recommends that the vacancy be filled by Lieut.-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, whose works in connection with the little known languages of the Indian frontier are so authoritative. The three Honorary Officers, who have so truly earned the gratitude of the Society for their devoted services, Mr. Ellis as Honorary Librarian, Mr. Oldham as Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as Honorary Treasurer, retire under Rule 31, but being eligible are recommended by your Council for re-election to their respective offices.

The annual accounts of the Society have been professionally audited as usual, and certified by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. The accounts were then examined, according to our rules, by a board of auditors, appointed last year at the Anniversary General Meeting on 9th May. The board consists of Sir Nicholas Waterhouse and two members of the Society, Mr. Enthoven representing the Council and Sir Richard Burn representing the Members. The Audit Meeting was held on 31st March, and the auditors reported as follows :—

“The accounts are in their usual form, and as usual have been excellently maintained; and the professional auditor has furnished us with all the needful explanations. We find that the net result is a certain deterioration in the Society's financial position. As revealed by the statement of receipts and payments this is expressed as a reduction of a balance of £81 16s. 7d. to a sum of £12 4s. 7d. But we would remark that, to arrive at this result, an addition of some hundred pounds in compounded subscriptions to the fore-existing total under this head has been included in annual receipts. The Auditor agrees that, to give a fair account of the position, this should be taken into consideration. We find, therefore, that the position has deteriorated to the extent of some £200. (Signed) R. E. Enthoven and Richard Burn, 31st March, 1936.”

Under Rule 81 the professional Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., retire, but being eligible offer themselves for re-election. A recommendation as to the election of the Auditors for the ensuing session will be submitted to you at the Anniversary Meeting on 14th May.

The grateful thanks of the Society are due to our Honorary Solicitor, Mr. D. H. Bramall, of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., for so kindly looking after our legal affairs during the year.

Two Resident Members have obtained permission under the new Rule 18b for a reduction of subscription from £3 3s. to £2 2s.

During the first fortnight of January each year a “School-boys' Own Exhibition” is held at the Imperial Institute.

Late in December the Society was invited to send any exhibits which might interest schoolboys and their friends in Oriental research. The time available for preparation being very short, only a few exhibits could be collected. They were chosen to represent Writing and Printing from most ancient times. A large number of boys were interested in the Society's stall, and the Organizing Director expressed his thanks for the exhibit and sent an invitation to the Society to be represented again in January, 1937. He has asked for a display to represent "Oriental Research as the Result of Exploration". The Council has accepted the invitation.

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement of accounts.

The Treasurer: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, Two years ago when giving my Report on your Society's accounts I was living on Faith. Last year, my Faith not having lessened the mountain of leeway we had to make up, I relied on Hope, but Hope told a flattering tale, and as a result I fear that this year I may be reduced to living on the Charity of the members.

Let us see how the position stands.

The actual total receipts for 1935 are £2,779 15s. 4d. (excluding balance brought forward) while the total payments are £2,873 16s. 6d. Out of our receipts, however, £101 2s., received in respect of compounded subscriptions, has to be credited to capital, thus leaving as available income £2,678 13s. 4d. only, and our expenditure exceeds this by £195 3s. 2d.

As compared with the previous year it is true that the available income shows a slight improvement, but amounting to £17 1s. 2d. only, and this includes the £105 restored grant from the India Office.

On the other hand our ordinary subscriptions including students are some £41 17s. more than the previous year, and our rents £26 more; but the items under the *Journal Account* are, I regret to say, no less than £91 10s. 2d. down; a serious

fall, as the receipts for the three previous years were £523 6s. 11d. (1934), £511 1s. (1933), and £627 2s. 7d. (1932). The additional copies sold have fallen to an almost negligible amount as compared with some years back. We have not sold a set of our proceedings for some years now. There may be some special reason for this which we have not yet been able to discover.

For the rest, I need not take up your time by going into the other items beyond asking you to note that at the beginning of last year we had over-expended during the two previous years on general account £639 16s. 8d., while this year that sum has increased to £834 19s. 10d., that sum being made up of our excess expenditure of £195 3s. 2d. over available income, as I have already mentioned. The Auditors' Report which is set out in the Council's Report refers to this.

As to the payments I am glad to say that the £2,873 16s. 6d., which appears as the total payments on the accounts before you, is £318 8s. 2d. less than the total of £3,192 4s. 8d. expended in the previous year, which included a very heavy account for unexpected repairs. £135 15s. 6d. has been saved by our being compelled to reduce the size of the *Journal* from 900 to 800 pages (as a temporary measure only we hope) as you will have noted from the Report, while £25 7s. 7d. has also been saved by a very unwilling cut in the library expenditure. The only other item on the payment side to which I need refer is the increase of some £36 for rates under the house account. There has been a considerable increase here, owing to a new arrangement come to with one of our tenants, referred to in last year's accounts.

It is, I think, incumbent upon me to say a few words as to the *Journal* and Library, in addition to what has been stated in the Report.

We have always recognized that the *Journal* and Library are the life blood of the Society, and they have always had our first consideration, as you will see if you refer to the expenditure made in recent years and the comments made on the subject at the annual meetings.

But during the last two or three years, since the world crisis in fact, although we tried to keep up our expenditure on these two important items, our income suffered so severely and our over-expenditure was growing at such an alarming rate, that we were compelled to call a temporary halt. It is clear that with an over-expenditure of £835, at the present time, and with a comparatively small sum of capital on which to fall back, our first duty must be, and is, to keep the Society in a proper working condition as a going concern; and if you realize (as you will do on studying the accounts) that of our present income (now approximately a bare £2,800 per annum), £800 is appropriated to the *Journal*, another £800 approximately to the House Account, and another £800 to the necessary salaries and wages, leaving only some £400 for all the other general upkeep of the Society, including repairs, library expenditure, and all the other incidental expenses natural to an Institution such as ours, you will surely appreciate that there is no room at present for any increase such as we should wish to make in once again expanding the *Journal* and feeding the Library with a more generous hand. I stress this point because some of our members would like a more liberal grant to be made to the Library as well as to the *Journal* on the ground that it would induce a better membership. My reply is simply that I tried it through the crisis in that very thought and belief. But alas! the fact remains that at the end of 1935 our accounts showed an over-expenditure of £835, which must be recouped before we can get back to our old position. We are not justified in continuing our over-expenditure indefinitely, and our annual payments are now reduced to a minimum.

The real remedy is to bring our membership up again. It has been falling steadily for several years past. I have gone back to the year 1929, when we received for Resident and non-Resident members £1,298, since when there has been a continuous shrinking till the end of 1934 when the subscriptions were £1,003 7s. only, while in 1935 there was a recovery to £1,035. It is true that some of this falling off is due to

the fact that many members have compounded, but, as the accounts before you show, no less than £471 13s. 3d. of the sums so received are capital moneys to be accounted for and recouped out of income as soon as income is available for the purpose.

We hope that the efforts of our local Representatives recently (and to be), established as well as our Library and Student Associates may bring forth fruit in due season. The reading room, as you have heard in the Report, is increasingly used and a certain amount of expenditure is clearly necessary as this evidently supplies a felt want.

As regards the prospects for the current year I may say that we have recently let the last of our available rooms at £45 per annum so that all our rooms are now let. Our income is coming in slowly but we hope it may at least equal last year's, though at present it does not look much as if we shall increase it, unless our Members will aid our efforts in that direction, which we earnestly ask them to do. This is a reminder of which I seem to have made a hardy annual, but a necessary one.

As to the special and Trust funds accounts, you will notice that they are all in a flourishing condition though most of the balances there mentioned are earmarked for publications shortly expected.

The Leasehold redemption fund to which I called attention last year is slowly and automatically increasing.

As to the Forlong fund, you will note that its Administrators, the S.O.S., are full of activity and utilize its income in a variety of useful ways which have been approved by your Society's Council and are within the terms of the trust deed.

I will add my usual grateful thanks to Mrs. Davis, our Assistant Secretary, for all her kind and willing help given to the exacting Treasurer during the past year; and my thanks to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for listening to me so patiently.

Mr. Enthoven, in proposing the adoption of the Report, referred to the fact that, though by precedent a speech was

not required from him, there was one comment on the Report that must already be in the minds of many of those present, after hearing the Hon. Treasurer's remarks. It seemed that the distinguished scholars who formed the Council of the Society shared a little weakness with most of the Great Powers, and not a few private individuals, at the present day, namely, a difficulty in reconciling income and expenditure. He would therefore appeal to all members to do what they could to secure recruits for membership in order that the valuable work of the Society should not be unduly restricted owing to want of the necessary funds.

Sir R. O. Winstedt: Gentlemen, I rise to second the resolution. Of recent years the Society has suffered from the consequences of the world slump, but careful economy has kept in order its house, or, should I say, the old banyan tree. And in spite of difficulties, it has continued to deserve the success it has so long enjoyed. As one who has recently come from the out-field, may I venture the opinion that one of the most valuable functions of this present Society is to set an example and a standard for the many young branches that flourish beneath its dignified shade and protection?

Perhaps this is no place to make suggestions for the conduct of our *Journal*. But, if I may be allowed to say so, I think economy in space might be effected by printing reviews of books and accounts of meetings and addresses in a smaller type, thus leaving more room for original articles.<sup>1</sup>

The Report was then adopted, and the recommendations for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of Auditors were accepted.

The Chairman: Our Annual Meeting this year is still overshadowed by the loss of our Patron, King George V. In the Report submitted to you we have put on record the gracious replies received to the letters of condolence which the Council authorized to be addressed to Their

<sup>1</sup> The Council has appointed an Editorial Committee to deal with this matter.

Majesties. We hope that at next year's meeting we may be able to announce that our right to call ourselves a Royal Society has been renewed through our being honoured by the patronage of King Edward VIII.

The Report further records the losses of membership which the Society has sustained during the year. First we must deplore the loss of our Extraordinary Foreign Member, His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt. Long before his accession to the throne he took a deep interest in the establishment of the University of Cairo, and throughout his reign encouraged the advance of learning. The Council has just approved a message of condolence to his heir and successor with good wishes for a long, prosperous, and glorious reign.

Like other analogous societies, we endeavour to show our appreciation of foreign merit by offering honorary membership to a limited number of persons of other nationalities, who have rendered exceptional service to the studies which we pursue. The list before you contains the names of two whom during the year we have lost by death: Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago, a famous Egyptologist, of whose work our number for January of this year contains an appreciative account from the pen of Mr. Dawson. The other is Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, author of an exhaustive and monumental *History of Islam*, planned indeed on too great a scale to be completed in a single lifetime, yet the long row of stately volumes which he lived to publish has profoundly affected all subsequent study of the periods with which they deal.

In trying to supply such vacancies the Society looks out for persons of the same nationality and workers in the same fields as the deceased. This is somewhat like a case of serving two masters, and it is not always possible to satisfy both these requirements. In that of Professor Breasted we have been fortunate in finding a successor who is both a citizen of the United States and an Egyptologist, Professor Winloch, of New York. But the place occupied by the late Prince Caetani

has been offered to, and accepted, by Professor Wensinck, of Leiden, Holland, also the author of a monumental work, which will assuredly be what Thucydides calls a possession for ever. This is his great Concordance of Islamic Tradition, of which the fasciculi are eagerly awaited. Considering how proud the inhabitants of Islamic countries are of this study and the enthusiasm with which they have from a very early period pursued it, it is rather surprising that it has fallen to a European to furnish this important aid to it.

I feel that I may also say a few words about one other scholar whose name appears in this list. Mr. R. P. Dewhurst did good service to the Society both as a Councillor and a reviewer of books. He was for a long series of years on the staff of Oxford University, which was able to profit by his exceptionally varied attainments in other subjects besides those which he officially taught, Hindi and Urdu. You are likely to have read in *The Times* tributes from various friends to his linguistic knowledge, and his remarkable gifts as a teacher.

We gratefully acknowledge the help which we have received from their Excellencies the Ministers of Oriental States in taking our part in the celebrations of famous men who have attained the rank of national heroes in literary fields. Great assistance was given us in the previous year by the Iranian Minister in the Firdausi celebrations; and the Egyptian Minister very kindly occupied the Chair at the first of the Lectures devoted to the career of the great Israelite Maimonides. There was, and may still be, a prospect of our collaborating with the representatives of Arabic speaking countries in paying a tribute to the memory of the great Syrian poet, Mutanabbi, a household word in those countries, but little known in others, he having had no Fitzgerald to interpret him.

A fact which is worthy of attention is a recent development of the institution known by its German name *Festschrift*, which is not quite easy to explain. Previously the age which qualified for a *Festschrift* was seventy; Count Landberg,

believing that he had only forfeited the honour by not being a professor, gave himself one on his seventieth birthday. But in three recent cases the qualifying age has been reduced to sixty. One can but guess that the actuaries have certified some serious diminution in professorial longevity. Possibly that is because they form the hardest worked class in the community, whose general average of longevity is known to have been increasing. Whether these conjectures be felicitous or not, the Society has had great pleasure in adding its signature to addresses sent on these occasions to Professors Kahle, Littmann, and Rhodokanakis, and has been gratified by the award to the last of these, who for many years has been one of its Honorary Members, of the first Medal conferred by the Lidzbarski Trustees on an Orientalist of conspicuous merit. Lidzbarski's activities having been largely concerned with Semitic Epigraphy, the choice would certainly have had his approval.

It will be seen from the varied character of the Lecture list that we endeavour to deal fairly with the very numerous departments of study which come within the range of an Asiatic Society, and we owe much gratitude to those who have accepted our invitations to initiate our audiences into the results of their researches or explorations. Although the area covered by the Central Asian Society's Journal is in the main quite different from ours, and calculated to interest a far larger public, we have been able on several occasions to share a lecture with that Society and hope that this friendly co-operation may continue. On the other hand to the complaint which sometimes reaches us, that our *Journal* is too rigidly technical for the ordinary reader we have hitherto turned a deaf ear. We should indeed welcome a larger membership; but we are unwilling *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, and it is as much our duty to be technical and in the interest of earnest students, as it is the duty and the practice of journals which are occupied with mathematics, astronomy, or chemistry.

The recruits to our Council whose names are mentioned in the Report represent a great accession of strength, and the Society is grateful to them all for accepting nomination. Of these Professor Yetts is a veteran Councillor, and the Society owes much to his energy and initiative. The retirement, which our Rules necessitate, of Dr. Bailey, will perhaps, though unwelcome to us, be welcome to him in starting on the important post to which he has recently been elected, the Professorship of Sanskrit at Cambridge. One of his predecessors, E. B. Cowell, was the first recipient of our Triennial Gold Medal. I take this opportunity of offering Professor Bailey the Society's congratulations and good wishes.

I understand that the maximum of stability is given by three supports and such we possess in our three Honorary Officers, Messrs. Oldham, Perowne, and Ellis, of whose wisdom, energy, and helpfulness I cannot speak too highly. I might say the same of the Director, whom, however, I prefer to think of as an *alter ego*. The absence of our Secretary is due to his having been called to Australia on a short visit to a relation whom he had not seen for many years; but this occasion should not pass without some reference to his services and our appreciation of them. Our Assistant Secretary has for the time taken his place, and we are grateful for her willingness and efficiency. Nor should we omit to pay some tribute to our Assistant Librarian, whose work is increasingly arduous owing to the compilation and printing of the Catalogue and to the growing popularity of the Library.

Although the speechifying on this occasion is not, as at public dinners, diluted with other forms of refreshment, I think I may conclude with the words which furnish the theme for a final toast at some such gatherings, *stet fortuna domus*. We are conscious that we have shared in the depression which has affected our fellow workers in many countries, but one of my correspondents seemed to me unduly pessimistic when he described our Society as moribund, and our cautious

Honorary Treasurer has found our prospects somewhat brighter in the present year than in the preceding. It will, I think, be found that we have welcomed and will always welcome suggestions for the improvement of our activities, the remedying of defects, and the introduction of new ideas. And by adopting such of these as seem at all likely to compass these purposes we hope that the Society in the future may be graced by association with names as illustrious as those which have graced it in the past.

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### Notices

On account of the summer vacation it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September. Books sent to India by V.P.P. (Value Payable Post) may not be sent at Book Post Rates on account of the Customs Regulations. Consequently it is cheaper in most cases when speed is imperative, to send payment in advance.

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### Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

#### PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions, such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which have been catalogued by Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from Orientalists

should be sent to the Secretary with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself, for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

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Members and subscribing Libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

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### **Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series**

As we go to press, a letter has been received from Dr. Bimala Churn Law, conveying his approval of the draft Trust Deed prepared by our Solicitors to give effect to the intentions of the Trust, and of the draft Rules and Regulations governing the submission of literary contributions on the subjects specified in the Deed. Steps will now be taken without avoidable delay to have these documents formally approved by the Society, when the Rules and Regulations will be published in the JOURNAL for the information of intending contributors.

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1935	Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini, <i>Paris.</i>
1923	Professor Nikolaus Rhodokanakis, <i>Graz, Austria.</i>
1923	Professor Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E., M.A., <i>Darjeeling.</i>
1923	Père Vincent Scheil, O.P., <i>Paris.</i>
1923	Professor Th. Stcherbatsky, <i>Leningrad.</i>
1910	Professor K. L. Tallqvist, <i>Helsingfors.</i>
1936	Professor A. J. Wensinck, <i>Leiden.</i>
1936	Professor H. E. Winlock, <i>New York.</i>
1934	Professor Dr. Moritz Winternitz, <i>Prague.</i>

## Gold Medallists

N.B.—The Gold Medal was founded in 1897

1897	Professor E. B. Cowell.	1918	V. A. Smith.
1900	E. W. West.	1922	Professor H. A. Giles.
1903	Sir William Muir.	1925	Rev. A. H. Sayce.
1906	G. U. Pope.	1928	Professor D. S. Margoliouth.
1909	G. A. Grierson.	1932	Sir Aurel Stein.
1912	J. F. Fleet.	1935	Sir E. Denison Ross.
1915	{ Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis.		
	{ Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson.		

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1934	Miss F. Beck.	1936	Mrs. E. T. Hibbert.
1935	Sir Charles Bell.	1935	Mrs. W. P. Ker.
1934	Miss Bodé.	1927	Sir H. J. Maynard.
1935	Mr. G. Brackenbury.	1936	Miss V. Morrison-Bell.
1935	Mr. R. Byron.	1935	Miss B. H. Parker.
1934	Miss H. Carey.	1935	Miss Chao-Yueh Tseng.
1934	Miss R. Clay.	1935	Mr. A. Upham-Pope.
1935	Mr. M. S. Collis.	1935	Miss D. Varley.
1935	Mr. A. G. Cook.	1934	Mrs. G. C. M. F. Young.
1935	Mr. S. H. Gokhale.	1935	Miss B. D. de Zoete.
1936	Mr. Serajul Haque.		

## Student Associates

1935	Mr. K. J. Dover.	1935	Mr. J. W. Layard.
1935	Miss A. K. S. Lambton.		

## Borrowing Member

1935	Rev. E. J. Bolus.
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## Branch and Associate Societies

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 The Bihar and Orissa Research Society.  
 The Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.  
 The Burma Research Society.  
 The Ceylon Branch of the R.A.S.  
 The Korea Branch of the R.A.S.  
 The Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society.  
 The Malayan Branch of the R.A.S.  
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- 70 Frankfurt a.M. : Rothschildsche Off. Bibliothek.  
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 Keijo, Chosen : Miyasaki, Isoki.  
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- Kyoto : Indian Philosophy.  
 Kyoto : Ryukoku University. 110  
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 Longmans, Green & Co.

- Lucknow: Provincial Museum.  
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 140 Madras: Oriental Manuscripts Library.  
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 Michigan University.  
 Manchoukuo-Kokumuin-Tokeisho.  
 Manchoukuo: Statistic Bureau.  
 Manchuria: Telephone and Telegraph  
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 150 Minneapolis Athenæum.  
 Minnesota: University.  
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         Cultural Studies.  
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         inary.  
 70 New York: Metropolitan Museum of  
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 New York: Union Theological  
         Seminary.  
 New York: Westerman and Co.  
 Nordiska Bokhandel: Stockholm.  
 Nova Goa: Com. Perm. de  
         Arqueologia.  
  
 Oberlin: College.  
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 Osaka: Foreign Language School. 180  
 Oslo: Cammermeyer's Bokhandel.  
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 Paris: Inst. Nat. de France.  
 Paris: Klincksieck, Librairie.  
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 Peiping: Tsing Hua University  
         Library.  
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         sylvania.  
 Pittsburg: Carnegie Library.  
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 Prague: Public and University  
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 Princeton University Library.  
  
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 Rangoon: University Library. 200  
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 San Francisco: Public Library.  
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- Seattle : Rupp, O. B.  
 Seattle : Washington Union Library.  
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 Shanghai : Science Institute.  
**210** Sotheran, H. : London.  
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 Sydney : Public Library, N.S. Wales.  
 Sydney : Royal Society of New South Wales.  
 Sylhet : Marari Chand College.  
 Taihoku : Imperial University Library.  
 Taschkent : Sr-As. Gos. Public Library.  
 Teheran : Legation de France.  
 Teheran : Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.  
**220** Teheran : Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.  
 Texas : University.  
 Tiflis : Gos. Univ. Bib.  
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Resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) . .	12	14
Non-resident Members (S.B.A. 13) . .	507	485
Non-resident Compounders (S.B.A. 2) .	94	94
Library Associates . . . .	17	21
Student Associates . . . .	4	3
Borrowing Members . . . .	1	1
Honorary and Extraordinary Members .	42	41
	772	748
Subscribing Libraries, etc. . . .	255	250
Total . . . .	1027	998